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A positive spin may be the only outcome

# US pressures sides at Wye

Talks to resume today amid apparent rift between Israel, PA

## ANALYSIS

By DANNA HARMAN

QUEENSTOWN, Maryland — Going into the final stretch of talks at Wye Plantation, an uneasy question is playing on everyone's lips: Can Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu afford to let President Bill Clinton down and go home with no deal at all?

The Americans have gone all out in pushing for this agreement. Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, CIA Director George Tenet, and a long line of top administration officials have been in and out of the plantation these past days, setting up meetings, calling lunches, leading walks, getting into the most minute details, and loudly praying for some "political will" on the part of the respective leaders.

The Israelis and Palestinians, in turn, seem less keen. Arafat and Netanyahu — scenic surroundings and smiling, encouraging Americans notwithstanding — have not, for example, felt the desire or need to meet face to face for the past two days.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, who in January was so eager for the redeployment that he threatened to leave the cabinet, only arrived yesterday — giving up three days in which he could probably have influenced the talks. Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon, worse still, was in America on Friday, but preferred to spend his weekend in New York, arriving, along with Mordechai, three days late. Whether these were intentional absences or not, they were felt.

See ANALYSIS, Page 22

By DANNA HARMAN and news agencies

QUEENSTOWN, Maryland — With an unofficial deadline coming up today, the United States is pushing the talks at Wye plantation into high gear and increasing pressure on the Palestinian and Israeli sides in an effort to forge an agreement.

"We believe in a sense of urgency and we are trying to instill that in the parties... we have no plans for a multi-week extension," State Department spokesman James Rubin said at a press briefing yesterday.

Rubin added that reaching "partial agreements" is not in the cards either.

"We have come here to do the

Barak threatens to settle scores, Page 2

work as per the schedule," said Rubin, who refused to speculate as to what would happen if extensions were needed or agreements not concluded.

However, according to US officials, President Bill Clinton yesterday told both sides that if the talks were to fall apart, the US would consider taking a whole new, less involved, approach to the region.

The US said yesterday that the talks were very likely to run on into today, one day longer than originally planned. "Talks almost certainly will go into tomorrow," White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said.

The Americans are maintaining that there is a good chance a deal will be clinched in the last moment.

The talks' atmosphere was "sunny," Rubin said. "There is time to complete the work if the



US President Bill Clinton (right) and Vice President Al Gore discuss strategy at Wye Plantation yesterday.

(White House/Reuters)

political will is there to make the decisions."

Israeli and Palestinian negotiators, however, do not seem to have that political will.

"There is no progress on anything and it is doubtful that we can reach a comprehensive agreement now," a top Israeli official said. "We have not reached that stage."

The official added that both sides

could see through the American attempts to "radiate positivism," but that "... psychology is not enough to fix the many real problems between us."

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat have not met face-to-face since Friday and the United States could not say yesterday if the two leaders

really wanted to make a deal.

Rubin confirmed the infrequency of direct contact between Arafat and Netanyahu, but tried to play down the significance. He said he had not heard anyone who wanted a deal say they were concerned at the lack of face-to-face talks since Friday.

"We don't believe that back-to-back, non-stop discussions

between those two leaders by themselves is necessarily a prerequisite for getting an agreement," he added.

Diplomatic sources told the Associated Press that a partial West Bank pact is likely to emerge, but completion of a full accord would probably take several weeks.

See WYE, Page 6

## The points at issue

By DANNA HARMAN

What are they talking about, where has there been progress, and where do gaps remain?

Interim issues:

- Gaza airport — the sides are close to an agreement.
- Karni industrial park — this was concluded during US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's recent visit, but the park will not open if other issues are not resolved.
- Seaport — there has been no agreement, and it seems this will be left for the sides to work on later.
- Safe passage — there has been no progress, and it seems its resolution will be left for a later date.

Security issues:

There are some 50 security matters under discussion. While some progress is being made, there seems to be a lack of communication among the sides, with "understandings" being reached between Palestinians and Americans and Israelis and Americans, but no breakthroughs being made directly.

Some of the most important of the security questions are:

- Extradition of wanted terrorists — progress is said to have been made.
- Confiscation of illegal arms — no progress.
- Imprisonment of terrorists — no progress.
- Reduction of the Palestinian Police from 36,000 to 24,000 — no progress.

See POINTS, Page 6

## Artist apologizes for 'racist, Nazi' remarks

By BAT-SHEVA TSUR

Following public outrage and an unprecedented condemnation by the Supreme Court, artist Uri Lifschitz last night apologized for his inflammatory remarks calling for the "elimination" of sectors of the population that he called "superfluous."

The artist broke a day-long silence — during which advocacy groups demonstrated against him and Education Minister Yitzhak Levy said he must face trial for "anti-human, racist, and Nazi remarks" — to say: "I was wrong. I apologize."

"When I read the article [which appeared in *Ha'aretz* on Friday] I was very angry," Lifschitz said in a statement last night. "I understand that my words hurt many people. I had no intention of hurting any individual or group or of inciting against them. I was wrong. I apologize."

Only hours earlier, the justices of the Supreme Court, where Lifschitz's works had been on display to mark the state's 50th anniversary, issued a condemnation.

The justices of the Supreme Court and the court directorate dissociate themselves in the strongest terms from the remarks published in the name of artist Uri Lifschitz and utterly condemn them, read the statement which was drawn up in consultation with Court President Aharon Barak, who is currently in China.

The artist's views as expressed in the article were unknown to any of the people who arranged the



Protesters yesterday held up signs during a demonstration against artist Uri Lifschitz outside the Supreme Court, where his work had been on display. The sign on the left reads, "Kill the disabled at birth" - Uri Lifschitz. "Is it possible?!" (Flash 90)

exhibition. Nor did they find expression in any of the works that were put on display."

The storm erupted following an interview printed in the paper's weekend magazine in which Lifschitz said that "a child that is born autistic, or suffering from cystic fibrosis or a genetic deficiency... every effort should be made not to bring them into the world... or not to take them home... Energy should be directed toward improving the race, not nurturing the handicapped."

In another section, Lifschitz implied that 1.5 million children died in the Holocaust "because

God thought they were superfluous." He describes all the "weak" as "superfluous" and includes in this group the elderly, the disabled, the unemployed, and homosexuals.

According to the article, he believes these people should be allowed to starve to death or be eliminated.

The reaction from advocacy groups was immediate. Yesterday morning, a demonstration was organized outside the Supreme Court, where two or three of Lifschitz's staves had not yet been dismantled.

See REMARKS, Page 6

## Channel 2:

## Second GSS agent linked rabbis to Rabin incitement

The General Security Service had a second agent, in addition to Avishai Raviv, who can tie certain rabbis to pronouncing a *din rodef* against former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, permitting him to be killed as a traitor, Channel 2 reported last night.

It said the GSS refusal to reveal the agent impeded the investigation of Rabin's assassination.

After the murder, the police and the GSS launched a joint probe of rabbis who may have issued a *din rodef*. But it remains unclear whether the GSS shared all the information in its possession with the police.

Channel 2 said the GSS held back the central fact — that it had a second agent whose information could lead to charges being brought against certain rabbis.

This agent provided information on halachic decisions regarding Rabin. Had he been allowed to testify in court, he could have provided direct evidence linking certain rabbis with a *din rodef*. But when the rabbis under investigation denied the allegations against them, the cases were closed.

A senior security source told Channel 2 that the GSS would allow the agent to testify before a commission of inquiry, as opposed to a court, because it could then keep his identity concealed. But the Peres government limited the authority of the Shamgar Commission into the assassination, and it did not deal with the rabbis.

In response, the GSS said it does not respond to questions in this area, regardless of the correctness of the information. (Tim)

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## NEWS

in brief

## PLC charges Israel will build new settlement

Palestinian legislator Salah Taamari yesterday accused Israel of planning to expropriate 1,800 dunams (450) of land near Bethlehem to build a Jewish settlement. Taamari, appointed as minister responsible to monitor Jewish settlements, told a news conference in Bethlehem that the World Zionist Organization's settlement division is planning to build a settlement in the Nokdim area. He said the new community will be near a bypass road to be constructed from Hebron, past Bethlehem, and ending up in Jerusalem's Har Homa. He rejected petitioning the High Court against expropriation of the land, saying Arab landowners do not have enough time to obtain documents that prove ownership. He added that the Israeli judiciary favors government policy.

Steve Rodan and Mohammed Najib

## Vatican seeks balanced regional peace

Vatican Foreign Minister Archbishop Jean-Louis Tauran called yesterday for a balanced peace in the Middle East between Israelis and Palestinians. "Peace should not be at the cost of others' sacrifices and sufficient security cannot be achieved to the detriment of others," Tauran said at a news conference after talks with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Foreign Minister Amr Moussa. "We hope that reason will prevail and irreversible steps will be avoided in order that the people of the Holy Land can live together." He said the Vatican was strengthening ties with the Palestinian Authority.

Reuters

## Surf and drive in Tel Aviv

Internet surfers now can watch a "live broadcast" of the city's traffic and pick the best route from one place to another, thanks to a web site Tel Aviv-Jaffa Mayor Ronni Milo inaugurated yesterday. The site — <http://www.tel-aviv.gov.il> — also contains comprehensive information on municipal services, including education, health, and housing. A prominent feature of the site is the strategically placed cameras that monitor city traffic and the recommendations for routes based on the traffic situation in real time. The site also features detailed maps of the city.

Michal Yudebman

## Gozansky asks for investigation of Raviv

MK Tamar Gozansky (Hadash) has written to Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein asking that former GSS agent Avishai Raviv be brought to trial. Gozansky said yesterday that Raviv tried to attack her during a meeting at Communist Party headquarters in Tel Aviv in 1992. She lodged a complaint with the police, Gozansky said, but Raviv never was brought to trial for this incident. Instead, his lawyers reached an agreement with the state prosecution and he received a suspended sentence and a fine. The Justice Ministry spokesperson said yesterday no complaint had been received.

Barisheva Tsar

## Mofaz visits security zone

Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Shaul Mofaz visited troops in the western sector of the security zone yesterday, the IDF Spokesman reported. Mofaz, accompanied by OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Gabi Ashkenazi and other senior officers, assessed the situation in the region in light of recent events, paying particular attention to roadside bombs and long-range fire by Hizbullah. Mofaz praised the professionalism of the soldiers in a clash last week in which two Hizbullah gunmen, on a bomb-planting mission, were killed. He said this had thwarted a potentially serious attack on IDF and South Lebanese Army troops.

David Ridge

## Barak threatens to settle scores

By SARAH HONIG

Labor politicians yesterday vented their spleen with vengeance, accentuated by chairman Ehud Barak's threats to the party's Knesset faction that he will settle accounts with his opponents and those who do not fully support him.

The spectacle was sparked by proposals that Labor offer Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu a parliamentary safety net to cancel attempts by the Right to bring him down, should he return from the US with a redeployment agreement.

In the background was a yet another looming row between Barak and MK Shimon Peres, who has come out in favor of a commitment not to vote down the Netanyahu government for the months it would take until a possible pullback is implemented in full. Barak had advocated

no more than a limited one-time vote of support when the agreement is presented to the Knesset.

Peres pointedly absented himself from the faction meeting in Tel Aviv. He chose instead to hold a meeting of his supporters to push forth his idea.

Barak pushed through a resolution that a decision will be taken when it becomes clear whether Netanyahu will conclude a deal. But he warned that "in future I will settle accounts with those members who do not today do battle against the Likud. I will remember exactly who actively helped in the struggle, who put spokes in our wheels, and even who just straddled the fence."

This was seen as more than a veiled allusion to Peres, who has come out in support of Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert of the Likud, and had endorsed the decision of the majority of the Labor branch in the capital

to back Olmert.

Barak also alluded to rumors that Peres might quit Labor and join a new centrist list. "Whoever finds the fight too tough and whoever is too weak to do battle, can sit the struggle out on the bench. Whoever wants to switch to another team, should just leave us and get out," he exclaimed.

In a final barb, Barak vowed to "lead a victorious campaign for the premiership, like my predecessors — most of them." Peres has never won a prime ministerial election.

The faction's reaction to Barak was not unanimous. He was supported by Abraham Shohat, who said that "it is unthinkable that ostensible party members like Peres, Nissim Zivili, and Avraham Burg would speak as they do."

Benjamin Ben-Eliezer argued that "there are those who think that some of us in Labor are dogs who do the work, while they can

just manipulate us. We have an elected leader, but some in this party have made a decision not to allow him a day of peace."

On the other side, Haggai Merom characterized Barak's words as "violent. What we have here is not a group which injures the leader, but a leader who cannot command a group, cannot inspire loyalty, and who attacks his own party members, from Peres to the Jerusalem branch. He had no cause to tell Peres that he will win with him or without him. Barak has to learn how to talk to people."

Yael Dayan objected to "the very use of the word 'collaborators.' Anyone in this party who dares utter a syllable with which Barak disagrees, is put on trial by him."

Dalia Itzik confessed to "not being enamored in Barak, but I must admit that there are those in Labor who will do anything to prevent him from succeeding."

## Hamas boycotts PA demos against Israel

By STEVE RODAN  
and MOHAMMED NAJIB

Hamas is boycotting demonstrations the Palestinian Authority organized in the territories in support of its negotiators at Wye Plantation, a movement spokesman said yesterday.

Ismail Abu Shanab said Hamas stayed away from the marches organized over the weekend to avoid any gesture that would promote the Oslo interim accords, the subject of a summit by PA Chairman Yasser Arafat, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and US President Bill Clinton at the Wye Plantation near Washington.

Abu Shanab said Hamas is disturbed by the terms PA negotiators are applying to the Palestinian prisoners whose releases they are trying to gain, including those inmates serving time for killing Israelis.

"It is shameful to describe our prisoners as having blood on their hands," he said. "Who among us does not have blood on their hands?"

See HAMAS, Page 6

## Apology

Due to technical difficulties, today's back page weather chart was unavailable.



Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai (from left), US President Bill Clinton, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon, and US Vice President Al Gore meet yesterday at the Wye Plantation in Maryland. (AP)

## IDF denies firing at Palestinian van

By AREN O'SULLIVAN

The IDF last night denied that security forces opened fire on a van full of Arab laborers south of Hebron, saying Palestinian terrorists may have fired the shots which wounded three passengers.

Abdullah Abu Sharkh, the driver, however, told news agencies that border policemen had shot at them near the village of Dahiyia. He reportedly said that he had been traveling on back

roads to skirt a military checkpoint, since some of the laborers did not have work permits. He said he was returning from Beersheba in a van with yellow Israeli plates, when a Border Police patrol started following the van and then attacked it.

He told Reuters that they opened fire without asking him to stop.

"When we entered the Palestinian Authority area at the border of Dahiyia, they followed us in and they suddenly opened

fire. I stopped when I saw some of the workers were hurt," he said.

He told AP that the Border policemen had signalled for him to stop and fired four bullets into one side of the van when he did not.

Abu Sharkh also said policemen smashed one of the side windows and started to drag workers out of that window and then suddenly left them.

An official at Hebron's Alia Hospital said an ambulance brought three workers to its emer-

gency ward with bullet wounds to the legs and arms. Their condition is moderate, he said.

An initial IDF investigation said the army was not aware of any shooting of any vehicle driven by a Palestinian in the Dahiyia area.

"In light of the fact that the van had yellow license plates, the IDF is examining the possibility that Palestinian terrorists may have fired at the vehicle thinking it was an Israeli car," an IDF statement said.

## Searching for light in the blackout

## REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

By HILLY KUTTLES

QUEENSTOWN, Maryland — The phrase "a captive media" as apt here at the press center near the Wye negotiations. With an American-imposed blackout, the press is always looking for a story.

That has not escaped the notice of the movements and causes with an interest in the proceedings. On Friday, members of Americans for Peace Now came here to stand silently holding up their white banners for the cameras.

Yesterday, the Victims of Arab Terror organization had the stage to itself. Four Israeli women who lost family members to terrorism flew in to advance their case that the murderers, who they say are living in refuge in the Palestinian Authority-controlled areas, be extradited to Israel.

The women — Smadar Adorian, Sigal Megidish, Ora Klein, and Yehudit Shachor — met with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on Friday afternoon at a riverside restaurant in nearby St. Michael's. They also were scheduled to meet yesterday afternoon with Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky.

Netanyahu on Friday afternoon at a riverside restaurant in nearby St. Michael's. They also were scheduled to meet yesterday afternoon with Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky.

"He said he will insist on the point of extraditing murderers. We hope that he will," said Adorian, 22, of the session with Netanyahu. Adorian's father, Eli, died in the July 1997 Mahaneh Yehuda bombing.

Sometimes the prey is so close the press can taste it, only to be frustrated once again — in this case by Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon and Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai. The two had just landed early yesterday morning at Easton Airport to join the

Wye talks about 20 kilometers west.

There to greet them were US Assistant Secretary of State Martin Indyk and Ambassador Zalman Shoval. Israeli and American cameras filmed the arrival.

The reporters shouted questions, hungry for something — anything — from the two ministers, even though they had not yet participated in any of the talks.

Secret Service agents frantically sought to usher Sharon and Mordechai into waiting limousines, not so much out of fear for their safety, but the better to keep their mouths sealed.

Sharon waved. Israeli reporters sang out, "Itzik, Itzik," in an effort to draw Mordechai's attention. One called out a question: "Are you optimistic?" Mordechai called back: "Yes." And that was it.

See NOTEBOOK, Page 22

## Settler council plans protest Shahak meets leaders in Beit El

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

The Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza is holding an emergency meeting tomorrow on what strategy to take in the event of a redeployment agreement.

Deputy chairman Shlomo Filber said settlers will demonstrate, block major highway intersections, intensify Knesset lobbying, and step up newspaper advertising to alert the public to the dangers of any further withdrawal and its effect on their communities.

Meanwhile, former chief of General Staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak met with settlers in Beit El yesterday, saying only that he wanted to learn the issues at first hand.

Mayor Uri Ariel said the meeting was friendly and was attended by Filber. Efrat deputy council head Moshe Yugev, Ma'aleh Adumim Mayor Benny Kashriel, Benny Katsover, and others.

The meeting, said Ariel, had been set up several weeks ago to discuss the peace negotiations and what settlers consider their "red lines," as well as different scenarios whether an agreement is reached.

Preparations are also under way by the council for a poll of those who identify with the Right to help assess alternative candidates to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in the next election.

"Humiliating," "degrading," and "unprecedented" were some of the words used by settlement leaders yesterday visiting the US to

describe administration pressure on Netanyahu and the Israeli delegation. Members of the council, in Maryland to remind Netanyahu of his commitments against carrying out further withdrawals from the West Bank, said the US appears intent on humiliating Netanyahu and undermining his position.

Speaking on Israel Radio yesterday, council director Aharon Domb said they were extremely concerned and fear that newly appointed Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon may agree to certain concessions in order to strengthen his own political stand.

Council spokeswoman Yehudit Tayar said the US vetoed several scheduled meetings arranged by Netanyahu, including one with council members and a delegation of the Victims of Arab Terror. Tayar said Netanyahu opted to leave Wye Plantation and meet with the relatives of terror victims outside.

Council members also said US officials were tapping Netanyahu's phones and had installed an office over his bedroom with various listening devices.

Sincere condolences to

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whose rare combination of scholarship and legendary  
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The funeral will take place today, Monday, October 19,  
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A year has passed without our beloved wife,  
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We will hold a memorial service at her graveside  
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We will meet in the car park of the Har Hamenuhot  
Cemetery at 10 a.m.

The Family

In deep sorrow we announce the passing on the 27th of Tishrei,  
October 17, 1998, of our dear husband, father, and grandfather

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Grandchildren: Avraham, Shayne, Mendy, Toby,  
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The shiva will take place at Rehov Wallenstein 805,  
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Bar-Ilan University  
deeply mourns the passing of

**PAUL HERZOG 57**

A man of vision who initiated the establishment of, and contributed towards,  
the first program in rehabilitation psychology in Israel  
and the rehabilitation clinic for the handicapped.

The university extends deepest condolences to his wife,  
Suschka, and the entire family.

He will be comforted among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem

5759 תשס"ט  
אלול



## A-G looks to bar right-wing list from Nazareth poll

By BATSHEVA TSUR

Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein has asked Justice Eliahu Matza, head of the Central Elections Committee, to disqualify the Moledet-Gesher-Tsomet list from participating in the race in Upper Nazareth because of incitement and racial slurs against Arabs.

In his petition to Matza yesterday, Rubinstein quotes a flyer distributed in the name of Ze'ev Hartmann, the head of the list, to residents of the town's Ben-Gurion neighborhood.

"The nightmare of disturbances by the Arabs will end in 75 days," the flyer states. After outlining his plans for bringing police into the neighborhood, and preventing non-residents from parking, Hartmann adds in the flyer: "We will make it clear in an unambiguous fashion that there is nothing for the Arabs to do in Ben-Gurion."

In another publication, the list says that "Tsomet is fearful of the growing take-over of Jewish homes and lands in Upper Nazareth by Arabs. It will take measures to stop this."

Statements in a similar vein were made in other publications of the list and in interviews,

Rubinstein notes. In September, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel had appealed to Rubinstein to look into the matter. Shortly afterwards, MK Micha Goldman (Labor) asked Matza to disqualify the list. Rubinstein's assistant then wrote to the Upper Nazareth local elections council to examine whether there were grounds to exclude the list from participating because of incitement.

The council replied that it did not have the legal tools for such an examination. Rubinstein's therefore ordered an investigation by the Justice Ministry.

He concluded that "the publications [of the list]... and other remarks made to the media are inflammatory and aim at preventing the Arab public from living in a town in the State of Israel, in contravention of the basic rights and freedoms of the individual."

"This is a grave violation of human dignity," Rubinstein wrote in the petition to Matza yesterday. "The incitement to racism on the part of the list and its leader is clear to all."

A spokesman for Gesher said later that the party was unaware of the material being distributed in its name.

## El Ad denies claims of entering Silwan property

By ELLI WOHLGELERENTER

Members of the El Ad organization tried to enter a disputed piece of property in Jerusalem's Silwan neighborhood late Saturday night, the Arab tenants said. The organization denied the charge.

Ahmed Abasi, one of four brothers living in the contested compound in the City of David area, said about 15 members of El Ad surrounded his house at midnight on Saturday, and tried to climb over the locked gate and surrounding fences.

But David Be'eri, head of the organization that purchases land and populates the Arab area with Jewish families, said it was all a mistake.

"The Arabs were afraid," he told Israel Radio, "that the security guards were trying to get into the compound, which was supposed to be evacuated by court order. El Ad security was conducting an exercise in the event of a terrorist attack at the house of a neighbor, and that's how the mistake happened."

Jerusalem District Court has already ruled — and the Supreme Court upheld the ruling 18 months ago — that the disputed property belongs to a Jewish family going back to 1923. Abasi said he and his brother built the house in 1966, and that 28 family members currently live there.

Abasi said he called police immediately, as well as Palestinian Minister for Jerusalem Affairs Faisal Hussein, and that the incident was over in an hour.

"We lost the case, but we have a letter saying the eviction has been delayed," he said. "They came last night to try and get in, but we prevented them — we have strong youth, from the family and from the neighborhood, and we are prepared to take them on, to start the infada again, from this building."

Abasi said he wasn't afraid of being evicted. "The day will come that everyone will return to his own property. If not now, then in 10 years. The wheel turns, don't worry."

## Eitan: Direct election law could wipe out Likud

Law c'ttee to vote on amendment today

By SARAH HONIG and BATSHEVA TSUR

If the current election laws are not amended, the "Likud will be in great danger and could be wiped out or decimated in the next elections. We could emerge a minor, inconsequential party," Deputy Minister Michael Eitan warned yesterday.

Eitan made his appeal for abolishing the direct election of the prime minister at a special gathering of his supporters at Likud headquarters last night. Several hundred party members turned up.

True to his promises from the summer, Knesset Law Committee chairman Hanan Porat (NRP) will bring an amendment to the Basic Law: The Government to a vote before the committee this morning.

Eitan's demands for a change in the electoral system is in direct opposition to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, and Eitan came under criticism for having scheduled his gathering while Netanyahu was negotiating vital security issues in the US. Eitan responded that he had sent out the invitations long before the summit had been announced.

Eitan argued that "separate ballots for prime minister and the Knesset list allow at the Likud's expense. There is no telling what blows they can deal the Likud in the next round — if we let them."

He also maintained that the system leads to the "marginalization and neglect of the party and to the concentration of all efforts on the prime ministerial contest. As a result the Likud, as a functioning party, is paralyzed and its forums and institutions are dormant."

Porat has not yet decided whether the committee also will discuss two bills on dissolving the Knesset and holding early elections, as announced and planned for tomorrow.

Ostensibly, the committee members are waiting for Netanyahu to return from peace negotiations at the Wye Plantation in the US so that he can participate in the discussion.

"If the prime minister returns from Wye Plantation, the debate [on the Knesset's dissolution] will be held as planned on Tuesday," committee coordinator Dorit Wag said yesterday.

However, it is commonly held that Porat — a leader of the Land of Israel movement — is awaiting the results of the peace talks to see whether to cast his vote behind Netanyahu. Porat has stated that he cannot support a nationalist government which gives large sections of land to the Palestinians.

The amendment to the Basic Law: The Government, proposed jointly by MKs Uzi Landau (Likud) and Yossi Beilin (Labor), would annul the direct elections for prime minister. The heads of both large parties are opposed to the amendment, which passed a preliminary reading in the Knesset on the last day of the summer session.

The bills on dissolving the Knesset, proposed by Labor MK Haim Ramon and by Meretz MK Haim Oron, also passed preliminary readings before the summer recess. They were discussed at an extraordinary session of the law committee during the recess.

At the Likud meeting, Eitan called on MK Dan Meridor not to leave the Likud. "If you have made up your mind to run against Netanyahu, do so by challenging him inside the Likud framework," he urged.

Eitan did not forget his feud with former Prime Minister's Office director-general Avigdor Lieberman and charged that "there are commando-like groups of Likud members who are out to politically target ministers and MKs." But he mentioned no names.

## Knesset reopens today

By LIAT COLLINS

After a three-month recess, the Knesset reopens today, without the political address by the prime minister required by the House Rules.

All the party factions agreed to postpone the address and vote on it until Wednesday to give Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu more time at the Wye Plantation summit. Speaker Dan Tichon said he would permit a further postponement on condition that all factions agree to it. Last night, Moledet announced that it would refuse any further delay.

Today's session will start with a few words by Tichon in the presence of President Ezer Weizman.

Apart from the prime minister's statement on Wednesday, there votes on two no-confidence motions held over from the summer session are also scheduled. If an agreement is reached with the Palestinians at the summit, this too could be presented for Knesset approval this week. Tichon told reporters yesterday that he believes the Knesset would endorse an agreement, but it is not clear that the government would survive subsequent no-confidence motions.

Before voting themselves out of power, however, the MKs might want to consider the improved physical conditions in the plenum. After 32 years, the chairs, carpet, lighting, and

sound system have been changed and the air conditioning improved.

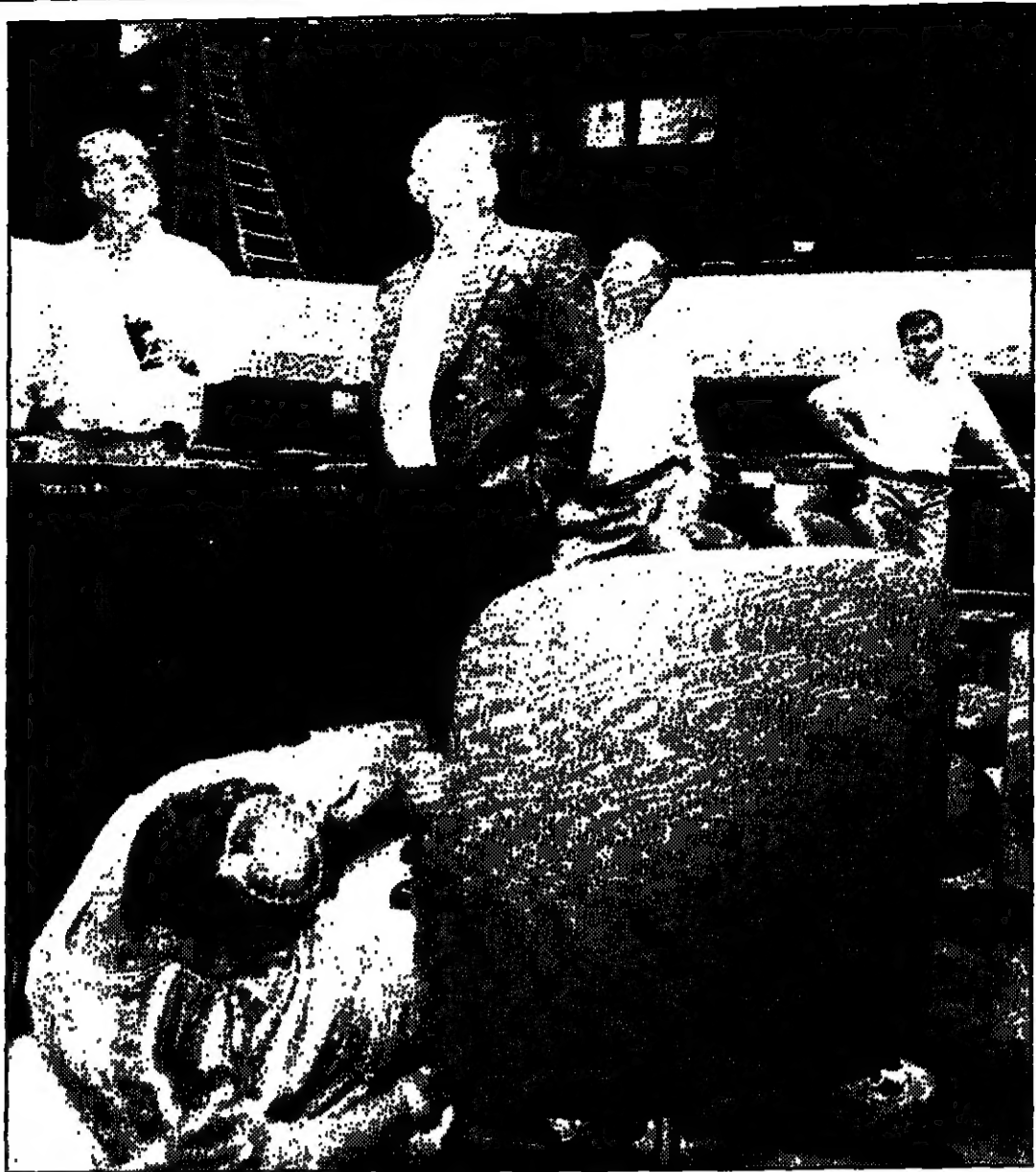
Another innovation is a prominent timekeeping panel displaying how many minutes an MK has left for a speech. Tichon said the improvements are aimed at encouraging MKs and ministers to spend more time in the plenum and said sanctions would be taken against ministers who fail to turn up to answer motions. The cost of the improvements amounts to NIS 3 million.

On the agenda today is a motion which would freeze the automatic wage hike for ministers and deputy ministers. The second and third readings of Meretz MK Ran Cohen's public housing bill, to which the government objects, is also expected to come up.

Next week the debate is scheduled for first reading of the 1999 budget.

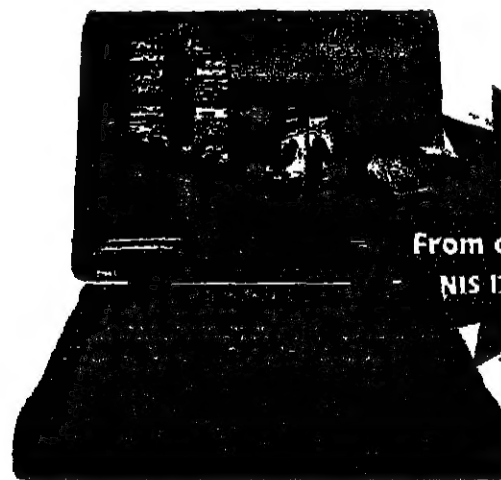
Bills calling for early elections and the abolition of the direct election system are also expected to come up in committee meetings this week and next.

Concerning the possible appointment of Ehud Yatom as Knesset security officer, Tichon would only say Yatom is one of four candidates short-listed out of 19 people. Yatom has admitted that while a General Security Service officer, he beat to death a terrorist captured following the Bus 300 hijacking in 1984.



A workman installs one of the new chairs in the Knesset plenum chamber yesterday, as Speaker Dan Tichon (tie and jacket) examines the new lighting system. (Flash 90)

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# Bill would give Matza health fund control

Reverses separation of health from politics

By JUDY SIEGEL

Health Minister Yehoshua Matza has proposed a new arrangement bill that would allow him to run the four public health funds by remote control and appoint 140 representatives to their councils and boards of directors. This and other provisions being worked on by the Health, Finance, and Justice ministries, would in effect reverse the National Health Insurance Law's principle of separating health insurance from politics.

The previous system, abolished in 1995, was very political: the Histadrut owned Kupat Holim Clalit, and all its members were automatically members of the fund. If Matza's bill passes, the health minister would be able to name large numbers of political cronies to health fund boards and send down his dictates.

Matza has frequently threatened the health funds in recent months, claiming they have been acting

like "a cartel" in jointly opposing Treasury demands to sign efficiency agreements in exchange for the NIS 650 million the state owes them.

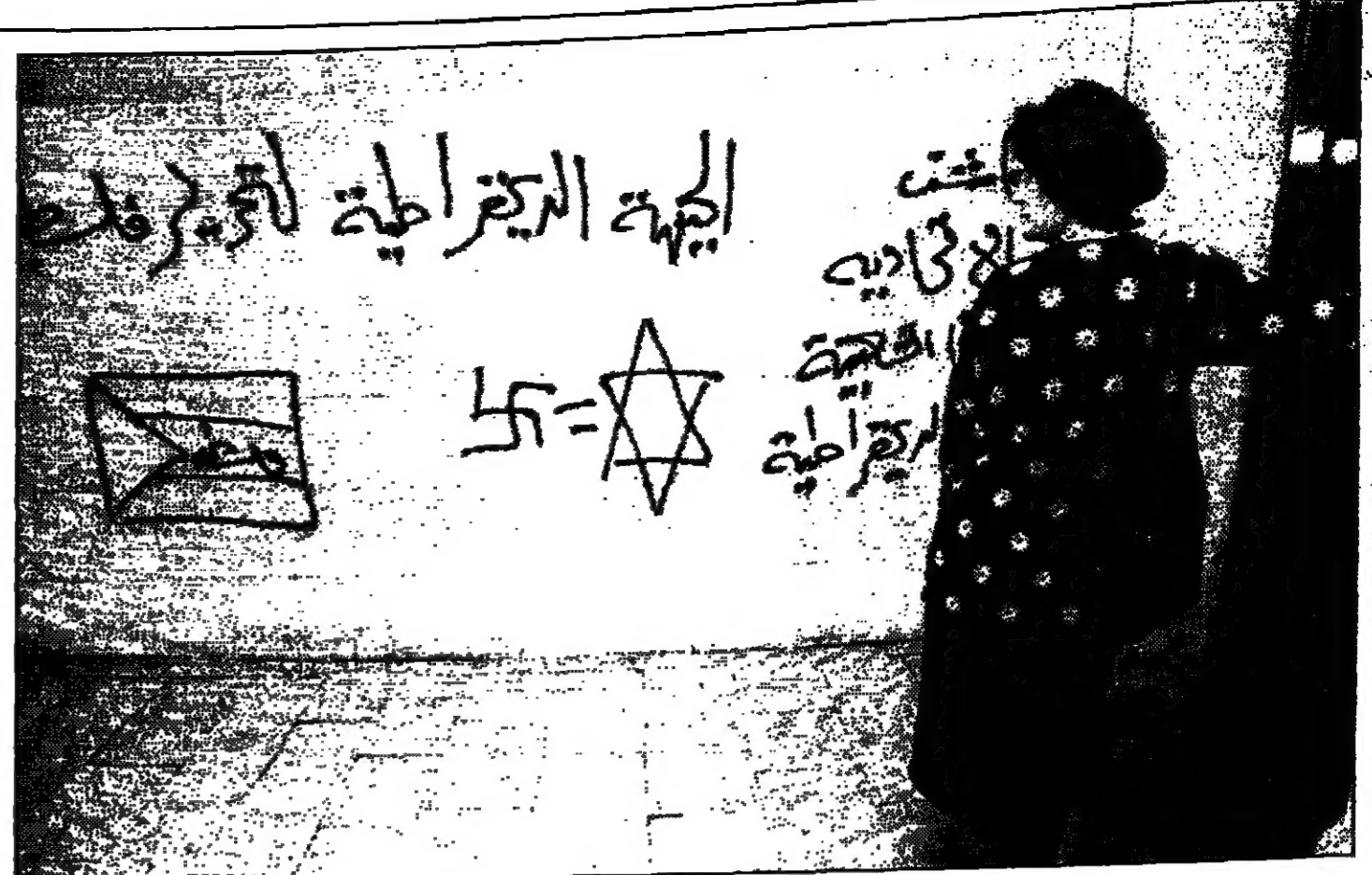
The bill would also allow the Health Ministry to punish health funds that do not provide all the required services to its members by withholding funds, barring the insurer from accepting new members, and fining health fund officials.

The bill would also limit rights to health insurance among Israelis returning from extended stays abroad. They would be left without coverage for a trial period after their return - two months for each year they lived outside Israel, up to a total of two years. The only ones to be exempt from this would be Israelis who paid monthly National Insurance Institute fees in their absence, children under the age of 18, or discharged soldiers living abroad for the first two years after military service.

Ministry spokesman Yoram Malka declined to confirm or deny details of the bill, saying only that "we are waiting to hear suggestions from the other ministries."

After Histadrut chairman MK Amir Peretz urged members of all the health funds not to pay fees for consultations with medical specialists, the Health Ministry spokesman charged that this was a "political and populist call aimed at causing anarchy in the health system."

Malka accused the Histadrut of being guilty for the decline of Kupat Holim Clalit, as it owes its former health fund NIS 650 million. [Clalit has not yet begun collecting these user fees, as staffers want extra pay for doing so.] "If Amir Peretz paid up and met his commitment, he would allow thousands of Clalit members to undergo IVF and could supply AIDS patients with their vital cocktail of drugs," he said.



## Defacing city hall

Jerusalem police are investigating who spray-painted the above graffiti on the walls of city hall on Saturday night. The Arabic inscription is signed 'The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.'

(Brian Hendler)

## Mammogram program shows positive results

By JUDY SIEGEL

The year-old program in which health funds are required to invite women members aged 50 to 74 to undergo regular mammograms already has produced results. Of the 65,000 women who participated in the mass screening, 71 percent of those diagnosed with breast cancer were found to be in the earlier stages of the disease, during which treatment is most successful.

In addition, it was the first-ever mammogram for 37% of the women.

The "Invitation to Life" program was initiated by the Health Ministry. About six cases are diagnosed, on average, among every 1,000 women who undergo mammography.

This news was disclosed yesterday by the Israel Cancer Association, which will hold its annual "Knock on the Door" campaign next Monday to raise NIS 10 million for financing treatment facilities, research and information. This year's chairman is Bank Leumi managing director Galia Maor, who donated NIS 100,000 on behalf of her bank at the kick-off ceremony at Beit Hanassi yesterday. The ICA finances vital activities and services that aren't subsidized either by

the government or by the health funds, she said.

Breast cancer is the biggest cancer killer among women, while lung cancer is the deadliest among men. If the breast-cancer screening continues to be successful, ICA officials predict, the mortality rate among women from this disease - which now totals 15,000 new cases annually - should begin to drop significantly in three years.

The ICA's guest speaker was Prof. Alberto Costa, an oncological plastic surgeon and director of the European School and Institute of Oncology in Milan. He spoke about the use of medications and experimental vaccines to prevent the development of cancer in healthy people. Not only has aspirin been found to reduce the risk of colorectal cancers, but the anti-hormonal drugs raloxifene (Evista, originally developed to treat osteoporosis) and tamoxifen are believed to cut the danger of breast cancer, he said.

Costa said that everyone over 50 should have a full colonoscopy at least once in his life to detect pre-cancerous polyps and remove them easily before they turn into malignant tumors. Easy screening tests for occult blood in the feces can identify people with colon cancer.

## Nationwide student strike set for Thursday

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Student leaders plan to go ahead with their threatened strike of the nation's institutions of higher education on Thursday, after yesterday's meeting between representatives of the National Union of Israeli Students and Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman failed to resolve the impasse.

The strike is to begin at those institutions, including the Technion, which have already begun studies, and will spread to the remaining universities and colleges when classes begin there on Sunday.

Student leaders have vowed that the strike

will include the blocking of major intersections throughout the country, with one student leader saying: "If we can't study, you won't work."

The students are demanding that tuition, currently about NIS 9,500 a year, be cut in half, and that the government help them obtain loans to be repaid after they graduate and start working.

Treasury officials say the tuition level was set in accordance with the Maltz Commission, established after a student strike in 1996, which included student representatives. The Knesset Education Committee is to discuss the students' demands today.

Student leaders met yesterday with Agriculture and Environment Minister Rafael Eitan, who told them he supports their struggle and would call for an emergency cabinet meeting on the issue.

Eitan also promised the students that as soon as Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu returns from the US, he will meet with him on the matter.

Deputy Education Minister Moshe Peled also added his support, calling the students' demands justified.

Student spokesman Ronen Hershkovitz said that Neeman agrees with industrialists that the level of university graduate has fallen, because students are too busy working to earn tuition to maintain a high level of studies.

However, he added, "Overall, the meeting was two hours spent achieving nothing. He demanded that we keep to the Maltz agreements, and when we tried to explain that things had changed since then... he simply repeated himself. He agreed that there is a problem, but he disagreed regarding the solution. So we are stalemated."

The spokesman said entry to campuses would be blocked Thursday, as would some intersections, "so people understand that the students are fed up."

## Interior Ministry closed to public today

### Sudden strike causes chaos in Jerusalem

By VIVA SARAH PRESS

All Interior Ministry offices will be closed to the public as of today until a work dispute is resolved.

A sudden three-hour morning strike yesterday created an angry mob of more than 300 people in front of the ministry's doors in Jerusalem.

The work dispute is over additional benefits, including vehicle maintenance, standby workers, and workers keeping their positions. The Treasury had promised the workers in January 1997. "We had an agreement with the Treasury and it didn't fulfill its part of the agreement," said Interior Ministry union chief Natan Tzabari.

The work dispute was declared on September 27, but the workers didn't strike because of the holidays, said Tzabari.

On what should have been a typical day at the ministry, people coming for visas, certificates, and ID cards found themselves the victims of the work dispute.

For Beatrice Lampert, a New York tourist who arrived at 5:30 a.m. for the 8 a.m. opening, it was a slap in the face when a worker taped a sign to the door at 7 a.m. declaring the ministry was on strike until 10 a.m.

"I think it's outrageous that they didn't announce it," Lampert said. "It's a real disrespect for people. I'm angry I got up at 5 a.m. You don't just close a door."

Tzabari said news organizations were told on Thursday afternoon that the ministry would not be open to the public.

While haredim, secular Israelis, Christians, and Moslems stood together venting their frustrations to one another during the strike, as soon as the doors opened at 10 a.m., new friends turned into enemies trying to get in ahead of one another.

"It's a miracle that no one was hurt. People could get crushed," said Lampert. "My blood pressure went up."

"Someone just threw me in," explained M. Aronson. "This is the craziest experience."

## Beersheba parents shut schools over safety concerns

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Beersheba Parents Association leaders were meeting late last night to decide whether to continue the open-ended strike they launched yesterday to protest safety problems in city schools, including Comprehensive High School No. 6, site of last year's roof collapse which killed two youngsters.

According to association head Yisrael Moshe, the strike kept most of the city's 40,000 pupils at home. But Deputy Mayor Yossi Banano, who holds the municipality's education portfolio, said half the schools were open, and that the strike was "political," aimed at undermining Mayor David Bonfeld's reelection effort.

Moshe rejected the

charges, noting that two of Bonfeld's relatives are association members, and that the strike decision was made by the association.

Moshe said there is a long list of safety problems at city schools which had not yet been solved. These include the Reut school, which he said was closed for safety reasons, with no alternative provided, and the Achva school, where an entire floor was closed down because of fear it would collapse, Moshe said.

Even at Comprehensive High School 6, where the collapse of the gym ceiling last June 10 resulted in the deaths of Lior Kavalo, 13, and Shlomi Toledo, 13, Moshe said the gym roof had not been completed, "and if it rains tomorrow, the entire school will be flooded."

He added that a detailed report on the safety situation requested by the Education Ministry was being purposely kept at city hall, "because if they release it, they know they will lose the election." Moshe said the parents wanted the report released in full so as to pressure the ministry to provide the NIS 46 million necessary to repair all the safety problems. He said Bonfeld promised his full cooperation, but had reneged last week.

Banano insisted that there are no serious safety problems in the schools. He claimed that a report on school safety had been given to the parents, but association officials said it was incomplete, and lacked the necessary detail about specific improvements and budgets.

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## Beit She'an diggers hit pay-dirt

By DAVID RUDGE

A pot of gold was uncovered yesterday during excavations at an ancient site on the outskirts of Beit She'an.

Archaeologists found a large ceramic jug containing 200-400 gold coins, weighing about one kilogram, and all in virtually mint condition.

In the days of the California "Gold Rush," it would have been called hitting pay-dirt. The archaeologists, however, were more excited about the historical aspect of the discovery, rather than the intrinsic value of the coins.

The jug was discovered under the floor and close to one of the walls of a large building uncovered during a rescue excavation by the Antiquities Authority of a site where a youth hostel is to be built.

Ofir Sion, director of the dig, said the excavations had started four months ago and had revealed the remains of an exclusive housing area outside the walls of the ancient Roman and Byzantine city of Beit She'an.

Sion said it appeared to have been a wealthy district judging by the architecture, the size of the buildings, and the quality of relics that the excavations had revealed.

"This would have been the Byzantine equivalent of our modern build-your-own home area, in which most of the homes appear to have been large Roman-style vil-

las, but from the Byzantine period," he said.

"The district itself is to the east of the ancient city, which covered over 1,000 dunams [250 acres], and outside the walls. The people who lived there would have been very rich, possibly big land-owners who also had business interests in the city.

"The coins, which date from the middle-to-late Byzantine period, around the 6th and possibly 7th century CE, were found in a jug that had been put under the floor of one of the rooms in the building. All the coins are in very good condition.

"It seems that the owner had put the coins under the floor as a temporary hiding place with the intention, of course, of coming back to collect them. What happened and why he didn't come back and why the coins were left there for us to find later is a mystery which is likely to remain unsolved.

"You don't find a treasure trove of so many gold coins like this every day. It's a once in a lifetime discovery and therefore exciting, even for veteran archaeologists."

Sion said he could not guess the value of the gold coins at today's prices or what they would have been worth at the time. "It would have been a great deal of money. All I can say is that the owner would have been a rich person," he said.

Antiquities Authority officials said the dig would continue for another two or three months and, if possible, some of the remains of the Byzantine housing quarter will be preserved, alongside the hostel.



### Condolence call

Ya'ara Doron passes a picture of her brother Itamar, who was murdered in a terror attack last Tuesday, to President Ezer Weizman, who paid a condolence call yesterday to the family. Looking on are Itamar's mother Sarit and brother Lahav.

(Shem-Tov/Hazari)

## GA to be held here

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

The signing of a covenant between North American Jewry and Israel calling for increased mutual commitment and a stronger link between the two communities will be the highlight of the upcoming General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations (GA), to be held in Israel for the first time next month.

Among those scheduled to sign the covenant are President Ezer Weizman, ministers, MKs, and leaders of the North American Jewish community. The theme for the gathering, scheduled for November 15-20 in Jerusalem, will be "Many People, Many Roads, One Heart."

This is the first time the gathering is being held outside North America, to mark Israel's 50th anniversary.

The 67th GA also marks the first time the gathering will be held under the new joint leadership formed when the United Jewish Appeal and the federations decided to merge under one roof organization, UJA Federations of North America, last year.

Some 3,000 participants are expected to arrive from the US and Canada for the event, among them leading figures in Jewish communal life in North America, such as Michael Steinhardt, president of Steinhardt Management, Loews chairman Laurence Tisch, Clyde Haberman of The New York Times, author Chaim Potok, and others.

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## WORLD

in brief

## Over 100 dead in Nigerian fuel pipeline fire

WARRI, Nigeria (Reuters) — More than 100 people died yesterday after a burst fuel pipeline of the state-owned petroleum products marketing firm caught fire in southern Nigeria, witnesses said. Unconfirmed reports said more than 400 people were injured and were rushed to hospital for treatment as efforts were made to put out the raging fire. "Early indications are pointing towards sabotage," one resident of Warri, about 10 km from the scene of the incident, said.

## At least 13 killed in Colombian blaze

BOGOTA (AP) — A pipeline explosion spilled oil on a rural hamlet early yesterday and fire raced through the village, killing at least 13 people and leaving 66 injured, authorities said. Police said leftist rebels were suspected in the blast. "The liquid spilled all over houses in the village. And no one knows exactly how the fire started," said police officer Robert Valencia in Segovia, the largest town near Machuca, where the deaths occurred. "People were asleep at the time and the fire spread quickly." Valencia said the explosion occurred at 2:45 a.m. in the village 300 km. north of Bogota.

## India, Pakistan hold nuclear talks

ISLAMABAD (AP) — Sequestered for three days, negotiators from the world's newest nuclear states emerged yesterday without an agreement, but with a promise to meet again in February 1999. "It's not that talks have failed... this was just a beginning," said India's chief negotiator and Foreign Secretary K. Raghunath. The joint communique was a brief statement that said the two foreign secretaries discussed confidence-building measures, but there were none agreed upon. They also discussed peace and security in a volatile region that has already seen three wars and now openly possesses the ability to make nuclear weapons. "The nuclear issue was discussed and we agreed we will show restraint," said Pakistani Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed.

## Rockets hit Kabul, killing three

KABUL (AP) — Rockets yesterday hit an eastern neighborhood of Kabul, killing three people, all of them civilians, said eyewitnesses. The rocket attack comes as the Taliban, which rules the capital and 90 percent of the country, is waging fierce battles on three different fronts against its enemies, a northern-based alliance led by former military chief Ahmed Shah Massoud. There were conflicting reports that the Taliban had retaken the northern city of Taloqan, which they lost a day earlier to Massoud's forces.

## Taliban refuse to deport Bin Laden

ISLAMABAD (Reuters) — The Taliban has met the head of Saudi intelligence to discuss — and refuse — Riyadh's request that it deport terrorism suspect Osama Bin Laden, a senior Taliban official said in remarks published yesterday. The paper said Prince Turki had met the Islamic Taliban's leader, Mullah Mohammed Omar, in September at Washington's urging. But it said the Taliban had refused the request and Saudi Arabia had subsequently downgraded diplomatic ties. Bin Laden is suspected by Washington of masterminding the bombings of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in August.

## Pope reflects on 20-year reign

VATICAN CITY (AP) — Wiping away a tear, Pope John Paul II yesterday reflected on his 20 years as pontiff and wondered aloud how well he has served the church and what he called the world's longing for truth. The pontiff looked teary-eyed after he hugged, one by one, Roman schoolchildren who had just waved colored scarves in a dance of joy for him on the steps of St. Peter's Basilica. The 40 children were part of a crowd of about 75,000 well-wishers in sunny St. Peter's square for the pope's Mass to mark the anniversary of his October 16, 1978 election to the papacy.

## REMARKS

Continued from Page 1

Dozens of angry parents of handicapped children, disabled veterans, gays, and elderly persons protested vociferously, demanding that the statues be removed.

By last night, the court had brought in a truck which hauled off the last of the statues, after court spokesman Moshe Gorali explained that there had been no intention of leaving them there. The exhibition had closed last Thursday as scheduled — without connection to the article, he said.

Earlier in the day, Maozia Segal, who lost three limbs and an eye during the Yom Kippur War, lodged a complaint with police, represented by another disabled veteran, attorney Michael

Kirschenbaum.

Levy, who said the artist must be brought to trial for calling for the "purification" of the nation, said: "In my naïveté, I thought that people with opinions like that no longer existed."

At the opposite end of the political spectrum, MKs Yossi Sarid and Amnon Rubinstein (Meretz) and Shevah Weiss (Labor) expressed revulsion.

The Israel Women's Network demanded that Lifschitz's work not be shown publicly again. The Simon Wiesenthal Center said the statements were "clearly and chillingly reminiscent of the Nazi regime."

Bizchut, the human rights center for the disabled, said that the court must dissociate itself from Lifschitz for persons with disabilities to regain confidence in it.

ment that the current deal will include setting up a committee to discuss the scope of the next redeployment.

## Modifying the Palestinian Covenant

Israel is demanding that the PNC convene to cancel those parts of the covenant calling for Israel's destruction. The Palestinians say the executive council can do this. There seems to be a compromise in the works, whereby the PLO central committee will change the Covenant now, and the PNC will confirm the change within a year.

## Palestinian declaration of statehood

Israel is demanding that the declaration be deferred until the end of final-status talks, and that this be part of a current deal. The Palestinians maintain their right to declare statehood at the end of the official interim period on May 4, 1999.

There are reports of a compromise whereby Israel would recognize a Palestinian state in return for a Palestinian promise to defer its declaration, and on condition that its exact boundaries are spelled out ahead of time. Israel denies there is such a suggestion and says it would be unacceptable.

## POINTS

Continued from Page 1

- Release of Palestinian prisoners — no progress.
- Palestinian demands for parallel security constraints to be placed on Israeli extremists — no progress.
- Fight against incitement — an agreement to set up a joint committee looking into this matter was reached on Albright's last visit.

## Second redeployment:

Israel has agreed to a modified US proposal whereby it will redeploy from 13% of the West Bank, including 3% in the Judean Desert to be earmarked as a nature reserve. This matter is close to conclusion, and will be clinched the moment other aspects of the package deal are concluded.

## Third redeployment:

Israel wants the scope of the third redeployment to be included in the current agreement and to be determined by it alone. It envisions this as 1 percent. The Palestinians are asking for the matter to be delayed. When the matter is discussed, however, the Palestinians will demand at least a 10 percent redeployment. There seems to be some agree-

## Secrecy surrounds Syria-Turkey talks

News agencies

ANKARA — High-ranking officials from Turkey and Syria are to meet today at a secret location to hold security talks aimed at easing tensions between the neighbors, Foreign Ministry officials confirmed yesterday.

Foreign Minister Ismail Cem said late Saturday that talks would take place, but gave no indication as to where and when they would be held.

Turkey accuses Syria of sheltering Turkish Kurdish rebels responsible for cross-border attacks and indicated last month it might resort to military action unless Damascus halted alleged support to the insurgents. The threat raised fears of war in the region.

"In the meeting our representatives will

assess how well Turkey's demands over separatist terrorism are being met," Cem told the Anatolia news agency. "And, if they are being met, [we will assess] if the measures are enough and lasting."

The meeting indicates an easing of the ferocious dispute following diplomatic visits by Egyptian and Iranian officials seeking to avert a conflict that could spread across the region.

Cem said last week that Damascus appeared to have taken steps to close "terrorist" camps on its territory and that a Kurdish rebel leader had left Syria — two key demands that Turkey had backed with threats of force.

The dispute has exposed the extent to which Arab countries have become suspicious of NATO member Turkey since Ankara began

an informal military alliance with Israel. Syria denies Turkey's charges that it backs Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) guerrillas, who are locked in a 14-year-old conflict with government forces in Turkey that has killed more than 28,000 people.

With Turkey to its north and Israel to the southwest, Damascus regards the flourishing military ties between the two as especially worrying and sees Israel behind Turkey's accusations.

The PKK is fighting for autonomy or self-rule for Turkey's mainly Kurdish southeastern provinces. Its leader, Abdullah Ocalan, has long been thought to live in Damascus, though the Belgian-based MED TV, known for its close ties to the rebels, told Reuters it believed Ocalan had fled Syria for an unknown location.

But Turkish military and civilian leaders say the Syrian support continues, giving crucial shelter to rebels whom Turkey has hit hard both inside Turkey and in the Kurdish-held enclave in northern Iraq, outside Baghdad's control since the 1991 Gulf War. Turkey's powerful armed forces have called Syria's actions "undeclared war" and threatened military action if they do not cease.

The neighbors are also deeply divided over water rights and territorial claims. Turkey last week rejected a Syrian offer to discuss the thorny issue of sharing water from Turkish dams on the Euphrates River, which flows from Turkey into Syria.

Ankara and Damascus also differ over the status of the Turkish Mediterranean province of Hatay, claimed by Syria since the 1930s.

## Taiwan, China hold high-level meeting

By BENJAMIN KANG LIM

BEIJING (Reuters) — A senior Taiwan envoy met Chinese President Jiang Zemin yesterday in the highest-level contact between the two rivals on Chinese soil for almost five decades, sealing a new warmth in ties after a three-year freeze.

China described the 90-minute meeting as "cordial" and the Taiwan envoy, Koo Chen-fu, said it was "very warm," although no breakthroughs were reported by either side.

There had been speculation that the meeting might result in an announcement of an invitation to Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui to visit China.

The meeting was the climax of a six-day visit by Koo that resulted in an agreement to reopen formal talks stalled since 1995, when Beijing reacted with fury to a visit to the US by Lee.

The official Xinhua news agency described Koo's session with Jiang, which was extended for 30 minutes, as a "courtesy meeting" and added that it "proceeded in an atmosphere of a cordial and free conversation." Jiang "affirmed the efforts made by Mr. Koo to develop relations between the two sides," Xinhua said.

He praised the agreement to resume dialogue reached between Koo, chairman of the semi-official Straits Exchange Foundation, and his Chinese counterpart Wang Daohan.

Koo told a news conference after the meeting that he and Jiang were "old friends." The two met in Manila in 1996 during a meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).

"Due to time limits, full understanding could not be achieved in the meetings with Mr. Jiang and other top leaders of the Chinese mainland," he said. "However, we understand that it still requires a great number of contacts between the two sides before mutual understanding can be achieved since they have been separated for so long."



An anti-Pinochet protester wipes away a tear yesterday outside the London clinic where former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet (on poster) is recovering from a back operation while under arrest. (AP)

## Britain dismisses protests at Pinochet's arrest

News agencies

LONDON — Dismissing Chile's protest over the arrest in London of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, a cabinet minister said yesterday most Britons would find it "gut-wrenching" to give diplomatic immunity to the Chilean former dictator.

Chanting demonstrators, delighted at the move, gathered outside the private clinic in London where the 82-year-old Pinochet is presumed still to be a patient. He has been under police guard since his arrest Friday —

in response to a Spanish extradition request — for questioning about allegations of murder in the first decade after he seized power in 1973.

Pinochet has been a regular visitor to Britain, generally without publicity. His arrest this time appeared partly to reflect a tougher attitude toward right-wing dictators by Prime Minister Tony Blair's Labor Party government, which replaced a Conservative Party administration 18 months ago.

"The idea that such a brutal dictator as Pinochet should be claiming diplomatic immu-

nity I think for most people in this country would be pretty gut-wrenching stuff," Trade Secretary Peter Mandelson said in a British Broadcasting Corporation television interview.

However, Michael Howard, a Conservative Party spokesman and former cabinet minister, said he was concerned that Pinochet was arrested because of pressure from Labor lawmakers and lobby groups.

Cuban President Fidel Castro, attending an Ibero-American summit in Oporto, Portugal, yesterday described the arrest as "universal meddling," but hailed it as a "legal victory."

## Republican Hatch: Not enough votes to impeach Clinton

WASHINGTON (Reuters) — The head of the Senate Judiciary Committee said yesterday that there was not enough bipartisan consensus to impeach President Bill Clinton, even though he believed there was enough evidence.

Orrin Hatch, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, said that based on the evidence submitted by independent counsel Kenneth Starr the House of Representatives would vote for impeachment, but that there would not be enough votes in the Senate to convict Clinton.

"I'd like to resolve it in the best interests of the American people. That may be impeachment, it may

not be. But you cannot have impeachment without a huge bipartisan consensus and right now there is no bipartisan consensus on impeachment that you consider significant enough to do it," Hatch, a Utah Republican, said on Fox News Sunday.

Earlier this month the House voted 258-176 to launch an impeachment inquiry, which will focus on three core charges of lying under oath, witness tampering and obstruction of justice stemming from the investigation of Clinton's relationship with White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

Hatch said the evidence pointed

to impeachable offenses by Clinton.

"I do believe that he will be impeached by the House of Representatives. The question is will the Senate do it... but based upon what we have currently I cannot name one Democrat who is going to vote for impeachment."

Impeachment requires a two-thirds Senate majority. "If you look at the totality of the evidence that Ken Starr put forward there's enough here to impeach. You do have what appears to be perjury; you do have certainly lying to the court; you have [evidence of] witness tam-

pering; you have evidence of obstruction of justice. Any one of those is an impeachable offense."

House judiciary committee members said on the same program they wanted Starr to give evidence before the House inquiry.

Tom Barrett, a Wisconsin Democrat, said it was crucial Starr be called to give evidence because allegations coming out of his office were being challenged. Barrett also said he was curious about the relationship between Starr's office, Lewinsky's former friend Linda Tripp and Paula Jones.

"That's a fact-pattern that has to be explored to see whether Linda

Tripp was working as an agent for him [Starr] and as an agent for Paula Jones at same time," he said. "There are some unanswered concerns. If we are moving toward impeachment we have to have all the questions answered."

Jones alleges Clinton exposed himself to her and asked her for oral sex inside a Little Rock hotel room in 1991. Clinton denies the allegations. On Saturday, Jones attorneys offered to settle her sexual harassment suit for \$2 million. Tripp triggered the scandal investigation by providing Starr with tape recordings of her conversations with Lewinsky.

## HAMAS

Continued from Page 2

At the same time, a new development threatens to further intensify tensions between Hamas and the PA. The Jordanian weekly Al Sabeel, the organ of the Islamic movement, has released the text of a videotape made of Hamas fugitive Adel Awadallah before he was killed by IDF troops near Tarkumiya.

In the videotape, Awadallah, whose face is not covered despite his escape from a Jericho prison, predicts that the PA will kill him, according to Al Sabeel. He said he would meet a similar fate to that of Mubir Sharif, the Hamas bomb-maker who was shot to death in March and then blown up by his own explosives.

The PA has accused Hamas members of killing Sharif, while the Islamic movement has said the PA and Israel are responsible. Awadallah accused the PA of having turned into a tool of Israel to repress the Palestinian people and prevent them from defending

themselves against Israel. He compared the PA security agencies to the Israeli-financed South Lebanese Army.

A leader of Hamas' military wing Izzaddin Kassam, Awadallah acknowledged that Hamas has been prevented from carrying out attacks on Israelis. He asked for forgiveness for the failure to continue terrorist attacks, saying the situation does not allow this.

For his part, Hamas spokesman Abu Shanab said he did not have information regarding the Awadallah videotape. He indicated that the Awadallah killing remains unsolved, despite a previous statement by Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin that an investigation had been completed.

"We have nothing to declare at the moment," Abu Shanab said. "The matter remains ambiguous."

PA spokespeople refused to comment on the reported Awadallah tape. Meanwhile, Palestinian sources reported several raids by IDF troops around the West Bank. They said the IDF entered villages in the Jenin and Nablus area and arrested young people.

## WYE

Continued from Page 1

With big differences on some points, the US mediators may have to accept something less than a comprehensive agreement between Netanyahu and Arafat, Israeli delegation sources said.

But Palestinian delegates rejected the concept of a partial agreement and the US officials said they hope for more.

Asked if the United States could live with an agreement on only some points, Lockhart said: "Our objective is to resolve the issues, to reach agreement on the interim issues so we can move to final status talks."

Rubin added, "We've brought all the people to do the work that we think needs to be done. We have the capability and expertise to do the work and we don't want to speculate about what would happen with regard to tomorrow."

"There's time to complete the work if the political will is there to make the tough decisions... We don't want to speculate on what will happen if that doesn't hap-

pen," Rubin told a briefing.

He said the United States was trying to impress on the Middle East delegations the importance of working fast, for fear that failure will lead to instability in the region.

"But I wouldn't care to characterize how urgent they feel the situation is," he said, hinting at some US frustration at the pace of the conference.

Clinton flew from the White House to the plantation for the third time in four days yesterday, this time accompanied by Vice President Al Gore. Clinton began with a briefing from his foreign policy team, including Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who had met with Netanyahu earlier.

He then had a meeting with Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and newly appointed Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon, both of whom had arrived at Wye in the morning. Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat said that Sharon's arrival already was making the Israeli negotiating stance tougher and was weighing down the talks.

Clinton next had lunch with

Netanyahu and was to have separate talks with Arafat, Rubin said.

Palestinian delegates said the Israelis were pushing the concept of a partial agreement and they would resist it.

"The Americans have informed us that there will be no half-packages. The initiative [submitted by the US] should be accepted as a whole," one of the Palestinians said.

"The Israelis are trying to omit from the agreement any references to unilateral acts, the third phase of redeployment and [Palestinian] prisoners," another Palestinian said.

"We informed the American side that without these issues there will be no agreement. The Americans promised to find compromises on these," the second Palestinian negotiator said.

THE JERUSALEM POST  
Israel — from every point of view



# The glamour of paranoia Battling anti-choral hostility

## Movie Review

By Adina Hoffman

**S**cully and Mulder: their names have a Dickensian ring, redolent of dark, long-locked crypts, where rats chase and midwife threatens. But aside from their evocative handles and the oddly desexed passion that binds them (an obsessive belief in the supernatural and corresponding mistrust of all those in power, who seem to exist for the sole purpose of covering up The Truth), the stars of *The X-Files* are of course far from Victorian.

### THE X-FILES: FIGHT THE FUTURE

Directed by Rob Morrow. Screenplay by Chris Carter. Hebrew title: *Tikim be'afela*. 113 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance strongly advised. With David Duchovny, Gillian Anderson, Martin Landau, Blythe Danner and Armin Mueller-Stahl

modern pinups David Duchovny and Gillian Anderson are too certain in their uncertainty to belong to any era but our own. Good-looking, brainy, pale, given to muttering their outrageous claims in a hush so thoughtful, so rational-sounding and filled with big words, they almost seem logical, this team of FBI agents-cum-ghostbusters give paranoia a glamorous edge. One can even imagine a smart kid who grows up watching the TV show or spin-offs like this movie announcing to his parents that when he grows up he wants to be a conspiracy theorist: it looks like such fun, chasing bad guys, conducting autopsies on aliens, stopping mutating viruses before they take over the planet, what have you.

Indeed, the first half hour or so of the *X-Files* movie glides along in a remarkably taught and entertaining fashion. If one is willing to swallow the preposterous poses that the lead couple affect - she, with her neat black clothes, over-powdered complexion and socialite's tendency to talk through her teeth, he with his rumpled, quietly concerned nice-Jewish-boy look barely masking some very kooky ideas - the picture is a kick, almost campy in its far-flung outline. The action begins during the Ice Age, then proceeds to modern-day Dallas, birthplace of modern conspiracy theories, and onward, through the usual array of silent morgues and empty back roads at midnight. One need not be a great fan of the show, I think, to find oneself drawn into the plot as it seems to be unfolding (the less said on that score the better), or to appreciate



As special agent Scully, Gillian Anderson displays a socialite's tendency to talk through her teeth.

touches like Martin Landau's weird-sad performance as a crackpot occultist who tries to interest Mulder in some strange happenings he's heard of...

My own patience with the film began to flag around the inevitable scene in which the Men with Good Suits and Funny Accents Gather Together in a Smoke-Filled Room to Plan a Global Coup. (Or something.) At that point, alas, the thin veneer of intelligence and wit that coats the early scenes falls away and we recognize once and for all the shallow, nasty, narrow notion that this film and the TV show go to such lengths to propagate: namely, everything is controlled from on high by a few very powerful, rotten people, people with capabilities that themselves seem extraterrestrial.

Apparently this gang of well-tailored goons has the means to guide

the stinging mechanism of one tiny disease-carrying bee into the nape of a particular neck and on cue, as well as the ability to blow up buildings, cars, evidence of the impending apocalypse at the cool remove of an entire ocean. If nothing else, this conveniently vague, two-tiered sense that the characters' lives are being managed both by irrational, extra-terrestrial forces and rational, terrestrial ones allows scriptwriter Chris Carter (the show's creator) to justify any number of nonsensical plot twists.

As it turns out, the movie, like the show, is not so much about belief in the paranormal as it is about a disbelief in the normal - in human beings. Not only does *The X-Files: Fight the Future* present a scowling, jumpy view of human nature, its knee-jerk nihilism undermines the suspense it works so hard to create. Once we catch

on and realize that They're All In On It and that no one's to be trusted, the drama flattens out and little mystery or surprise remains.

Except perhaps for die-hard buffs who may see clues to their own private puzzle in a host of little twists invisible to the naked eye of a non-devotee like this critic. Fans of the show will probably enjoy the film, both for its familiar cynical strictures and for the more ambitious visual uses that director Rob Bowman makes of the big screen: there are several impressive set pieces and computer effects on hand, as well as what seems an inordinate amount of sloshing around in the primordial goo. This icky, sticky, ubiquitous slime is apparently meant to represent both where we've come from and where we are headed. Then again, if this film is any indication, we may already be there.

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

**A**fter many years of involvement with the local choral scene, including 26 years of leading the Shofar Choir and about 13 years of groundbreaking work with the now-defunct Cameron ensemble, Avner Itai decided to take a rest from choral music.

"I wanted to embark on a choral hiatus, aside from my teaching at the [Tel Aviv] Academy," he says. However, about a year ago Itai was invited to participate in a series of illustrated lectures about choral music.

"So I gathered some singers for this purpose and we all had a good time, so we decided to continue and work together," he says.

And so what began as an exercise in choral-music lectures has led to the inauguration of the Tel Aviv Collegium, which tonight opens its first official concert season at the Enav Center in Tel Aviv (8:30).

The new ensemble, which tonight sings Haydn's *Stabat Mater*, is a rather modest venture.

"We do not have money, everybody is doing it as volunteer work. We have quite intriguing programs and we hope that both the audience and the powers that be in the local arts world will discover our work sooner rather than later."

Cameron ceased operations at the end of the 1980s because the

government had cut its funding.

"There must be a sort of hostility in the government and arts agencies against choirs; this is the only way to explain the lack of support for choirs in Israel," he says. "But I'm really fed up with talking about it."

All Itai is asking for is NIS 100,000 to organize a full season of concerts for the new vocal ensemble, "so that we do not have to rely only on ticket sales. It is not an enormous sum, but at the moment we do not have even this."

That said, the Tel Aviv Municipality has provided the new ensemble with the Enav Center as a place to perform, and the Tel Aviv Academy gives them space to rehearse.

"This is what we have right now, aside from some little yet very important help from American donors who are friends of mine and appreciate my work," he explains.

Itai laments the fact that this is a provincial land as far as the arts go.

The major characteristic of a provincial place is anti-pluralism. The beauty of a thriving metropolis is pluralism. But Israel likes to have one best ensemble of each kind and that is that; the rest means nothing and thus - so long pluralism and competition."

Itai is glad that there are many

new choral ensembles emerging here, yet he says that "the revolution hasn't begun. And it will never happen until we have first-rate singers willing to join our choirs."

"Today young singers who finish the academy travel to further their studies and work abroad; they have no real work opportunities in Israel so they do not return. But just like violinists who cannot make a solo career are happy playing in an orchestra, so should singers be happy to sing in a choir."

"But this is not easy in our very selfish Mediterranean society. Great choral traditions exist in England, Sweden and Germany, but not in Catholic Italy, where the individual is much more powerful and meaningful than the whole. We lose at least eight good singers every year in Israel."

And so even the new Tel Aviv Collegium has changed its face considerably in the last year.

"I knew it was coming, as many of my original members were in the last year of the academy and about to leave," he says.

The current Tel Aviv Collegium season also features concerts of music by Jewish composers, an evening of romantic music, Bach, and the major project of the season, an evening of Israeli traditional songs in special new arrangements for voices and instruments.

## They all live in a Yellow Submarine

By HELEN KAYE

**I**t all started when actor Harel Noff got up on stage with his girlfriend at the Jerusalem nightclub Yellow Submarine and launched into a five-minute kiss. After that, his friendship with Moshe Lahav, the nightclub's owner, was inevitable.

He was invited to become a fixture at the club's weekly Big Tisch, and last month the two convened the first Parliament for Arts, Culture and Society, a grass-roots, apolitical, civic-minded group. There's to be another meeting at Yellow Submarine on October 29.

At the first one, the group didn't really have a name or a subject other than the idea of bringing Jerusalem folk and Tel Aviv people together. This one is dedicated to restoring the luster to the secular youth movements.

"The idea of the Big Tisch was to create a living-room atmosphere at the club," says Lahav. "We had all ages and all walks of life and I'd invite people to go up on stage and do whatever they felt best doing, from story-telling to singing to whatever."

Gradually the idea of probing a little deeper took hold and before Rosh Hashana they had an evening of *sihot*, "which was secular but serious and real," says Noff.

He started bringing people from Tel Aviv and the parliament was born. It is, say its creators, a multi-talented, multifaceted, multigenerational group whose aim is to be a catalyst for action.

"Look, the second you have the vision or the guts to put an idea out there, then things start to happen," says Noff.

The Jerusalem Municipality has already said it wants to support us."

Neither of the men looks like your stereotypical crusader. Noff is a hunk, and Lahav isn't far behind.

Before he came back to Israel last year, Noff had done a few segments of *Baywatch*, and was always getting cast as an Italian-American, especially on cop shows.

"I was in the last five [candidates] for NYPD, he says, regrettably, "but Ricky Schroeder got the role."

He'd spent four years studying on full scholarship at the Lee Strasberg Studio, which explains the level of both his TV parts and his English. Since he's been back he's had a running role on *Ramat Aviv Gimmel* and plays Arnon, the lifeguard, on *Hafukh*.

He also teaches acting. Lahav was a club singer until he decided to parlay his skills as an occasional emcee into a livelihood and open a nightclub that he called

Kalba Tzavva. Yellow Submarine is his second club; it's been open about a year.

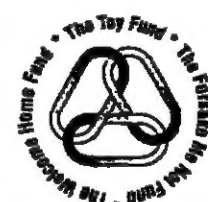
"We're both practical people who decided we could do something, Noff said. "The parliament after

this one will be about tradition. We both come from traditional homes, but we're losing even that because the religious have turned it into their monopoly. We need to restore tradition in our homes."

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A young new immigrant makes friends with a doll just received from The Jerusalem Post Toy Fund. Photograph from the early fifties.



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## Channel 1 plays a game of two halves

By BARRY DAVIS

**O**n Channel 1's profile of veteran Israeli Arab sports commentator Zouheir Bahloul (tomorrow night at 9:35), sports professionals reminisce about the "good old days" of Israeli soccer. But there is also much more.

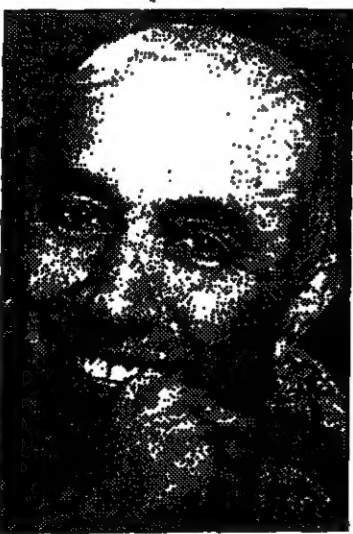
Bahloul is not just a star of TV and radio sports programs - he encapsulates the last 50 years of the Arab-Jewish dispute in this part of the world.

In keeping with the soccer framework, the documentary - *Broadcasting from the Halfway Line* - is divided into two halves. The first part recounts the illustrious professional career of the man who started out on Channel 1 in 1974, making his first appearance on the famed Saturday afternoon radio program, *Songs and Goals*, two years later.

Recalling his first match, Bahloul reflects on the precariousness of his profession. "After the first goal, I saw a heap of players and when the heap disentangled itself I saw I'd got the scorer's name right - if I'd got it wrong I wouldn't be making a documentary about me now," he says with a rueful smile.

The man's dedication to his job, and to the sport that provides him with a living, seems to be total. "I'm ready to die on the pitch," he states unequivocally.

It sounds convincing. But, while his colleagues have nothing but praise for his professionalism and cool head, Bahloul has his critics too. At this juncture, *Broadcasting from the Halfway Line* just begins to touch on the more contentious aspects of the man and his ethos. There are those who claim that he is overly pedantic about his use of the Hebrew language. His daughter Aspran, who works for Radio



Zouheir Bahloul (Sarit Uziel)

Haifa, is prey to the same line of attack. When the interviewer suggests that she too is "stricken" with the same linguistic bent as her father, she replies, while correcting the interviewer's pronunciation: "Not at all. Correct use of language is an inherent part of me and I don't intend to compromise on it."

Sports commentator Moshe Gertel touches on the cultural-political dichotomy of Bahloul's work on Channel 1. "He comes from two different worlds, and you've got to do the job on the pitch in one language - he does it perfectly."

The documentary's narrator skirts around a more aspect of Bahloul's bicultural origins, musing about whether the latter's almost legendary status in the relationship between Israeli television is due to his remarkably lofty professional position as an Arab or due to genuine appreciation of his professionalism.

Bahloul is portrayed as a genial but dedicated professional: "I get

my strength from the people who love me. My critics won't cause me to change my style in the slightest," he states.

But the man's soft veneer begins to show a few cracks when he pays a nostalgic visit to the Jerusalem apartment block where he lived in the 1970s. Prior to finding refuge here, he had been turned away by a string of potential landlords. When asked how it felt to be rejected, Bahloul's eyes momentarily take on a pained expression. "I said nothing, I preferred to retreat to my inner self."

At this stage, Bahloul seems to be the eternal optimist. He even sees the positive side of having been brought up in an orphanage from the age of eight. "Instead of one or two brothers, I had dozens," he says, without an ounce of bitterness.

But as we move northward to his hometown of Acre, we are introduced to Bahloul, the budding politician. The camera follows mayoral candidate Bahloul through the twisting alleyways of old Acre, where we meet some of the locals.

"It's time he stamped his character on Acre," says one.

Now it's time for Bahloul to step firmly onto his soapbox, and his optimism fades in the strong light of a spring afternoon in downtown Old Acre. "I find it hard to believe that there will ever be equality [between Israeli Arabs and Jews]."

There's more cultural dissonance afoot as we move into the home of a Jewish resident of Acre where some of Bahloul's neighbors have gathered for Independence Day. While one neighbor proposes that the country's politicians come to Acre to see coexistence in action, another is disturbed by the fact that Bahloul hasn't hung an Israeli flag out of his window to mark the holiday.

Bahloul admits to being ambivalent about Independence Day, stressing that he is first and foremost a Palestinian. It is hard to celebrate Israel's independence while there are still refugees in camps in Lebanon, he says. "I might have relatives in Kana," he adds, referring to the Lebanese village where almost 100 civilians died after an Israeli Air Force attack.

Still, Bahloul sends his children to a Jewish school. And, despite his dedication to his chosen profession, Bahloul's future is subject to question. "One day Zouheir and his microphone will retire," says Taibeh mayor Rafiq Yihyeh. And "it'll be the sweetest retirement," says Bahloul with a smile.

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## Quality in public service

Governments are enormous institutions, about as easy to steer as a supertanker. In most democracies, government bureaucracies are ostensibly larded over by a thin veneer of political appointees. As the British comedy *Yes, Minister* indicates, who actually rules whom - bureaucracy or minister - is not always obvious to the naked eye. It is also not clear how much a decision by the High Court of Justice, and its sweeping implementation by Civil Service Commissioner Shmuel Hollander, will affect this balance in the long run.

Hollander's bombshell, dropped this week and taking effect today, is that about 50 senior posts filled by "political" appointees would henceforth be staffed through public tenders. Hollander's decision followed a High Court ruling that the long-standing practice of exempting positions confirmed by the cabinet from public tenders is invalid.

Though Hollander is being blamed or credited for the decision, it was really the expanded seven-justice panel, presided over by President Aharon Barak himself, which took the controversial step. For years, governments of different stripes had found a way to slowly increase the number of political appointees by simply requiring that a position be confirmed by the cabinet.

The High Court ruling was on just such a case, in which the Housing Ministry redefined a position to require cabinet approval in order to avoid the need for a public tender. The position - director of the Rural Construction Authority - is not particularly senior, but is politically sensitive since it concerns building along the Green Line and within Judea and Samaria. The government appointed Shimon Einstein, an NRP member, even though the Civil Service Commission found him to be unqualified. The court gave the government six months to issue a public tender for the post, after which Einstein must vacate it.

Once again, Aharon Barak's Supreme Court has shown its willingness to wade deep into politically sensitive territory and take a controversial decision. Hollander's ruling implementing the court decision leaves only a handful of positions defined by law as exempt from public tenders: directors of ministries, the attorney-general, and the Civil Service commissioner. Among the dozens of positions no longer open for political appointments are 11 key posts in Israeli embassies worldwide.

Even though the term "political appointment" has acquired a vaguely corrupt ring to it, the

decision as it stands should not be considered an unqualified victory for good government. There are certainly plenty of examples of highly questionable political appointments, under governments led by both parties. Most recently, former foreign minister David Levy ignored the Civil Service Commission's rejection of former Kiryat Yam mayor Shmuel Siso for the post of consul-general in New York.

But in Israel as compared to other countries, particularly the United States, the total number of political appointments to senior positions is relatively small. In the US, political appointments reach from the cabinet level all the way down to deputy assistant secretaries - amounting to a musical chairs of thousands of mid-level bureaucrats when the White House switches to the other party. Here, the surprise is that Hollander's ruling affected only 50 posts.

Of these 50, most are roughly the level of a ministry director-general, such as the director of the Government Companies Authority, or the accountant-general. Other positions, by virtue of their sensitivity - ambassadors in key posts such as Washington and London, for example - should remain political appointments. Some, such as the five regional directors within the Interior Ministry, would more naturally be Civil Service positions.

Though the court decision may well be justified from a legal standpoint, dropping all 50 political slots at once is going too far. The Civil Service Commission itself presumably recognizes this, as it (along with the Justice Ministry) is now devising criteria to define which posts should be added to the very limited list of political appointments defined in law. In doing so, they should keep in mind that "political" is not a dirty word.

An elected government must be able to impose its mark on unelected bureaucracies, or the heart of democracy will have been subverted. Political appointments need to be restricted, and appointees must meet basic standards of qualification. In the end, the choice of where to draw the line between where the Civil Service ends and where the political echelon begins is not a simple one.

The High Court and the Civil Service Commission have done a service by forcing the system to review that choice, starting almost from scratch. Wherever the line is drawn, there will be poor and excellent officeholders on both sides of it, and the challenge will be to ensure quality in all echelons of public service, be they civil or political.

## OPINION

### Lack of trust

YOSEF GOELL

One of the first reactions to the disastrous forest fires that ravaged Israel just over a week ago was the insinuation that Israeli Arab arsonists must have been responsible for them.

The way these suspicions were reported in the tabloids, at the height of the fires, should have reminded Jews of a long history of collective accusations against various Jewish communities in anti-Semitic European countries.

Whereas it quickly became clear that in most of the fires, no arson, Arab or otherwise, had been involved, a few cases - in Wadi Ara, the Jerusalem Corridor and possibly in western Galilee - the evidence did indicate that Arab arsonists were responsible.

This involvement in arson - which has been going on for some years - is a regrettable result of the growing identification of some young Israeli Arabs with the Palestinian cause in the territories,

have been calling in recent years for the establishment of a separate Arab university, the ceding of far-going cultural - some even speak of national - autonomy to Arabs in Galilee and the Triangle, the resettlement of Arabs in localities from which their immediate forefathers fled or were driven in the 1948 War of Independence, the abrogation of the Law of Return which embodies the very idea of Israel as the State of the Jewish people, and replacing Israel's national symbols - flag and anthem - with ones more compatible with Arab sensibilities.

Last week Israeli Arab politicians were called to Cairo to meet with Egyptian President Mubarak to discuss what the stand of Israeli Arabs should be as the Israeli-Palestinian Authority negotiations come to a head at Wye Plantation. Which brings attention to the ongoing anomaly that a prominent member of the Palestinian delegation to those talks as advisor to Yasser

**Is it any surprise that the bulk of the Jewish population is deeply suspicious about the ultimate loyalty of the Arab minority?**

abandoned in recent years by the growth of an Islamic Movement in Israel, which makes no secret of its virulent anti-Israel positions.

On the other hand, we have growing evidence from polls that when Israeli Arabs are asked to rank the importance of struggling for greater equality as citizens of Israel and using their growing power in Israel to fight for the interests of an independent PLO-controlled Palestine, a majority clearly come down in favor of the first.

The problem is that one would never know of this very definite trend of Israelization among a growing number of Israeli Arabs from the statements and behavior of their highly visible - and volatile - political leaders.

A growing number of these Israeli Arab political and intellectual elites

Arafat is Dr. Ahmed Tibi, an Israeli citizen.

In recent years Israeli Arab politicians have been falling over themselves to obtain invitations to meet with Syria's dictator, Hafez Assad - an arch-enemy of Israel. Then they compete against each other as to who can go the furthest in flouting over him and exhorting Israel.

GIVEN these facts, is it any surprise that the bulk of the Israeli establishment and the Jewish population harbor deep suspicions about the ultimate loyalty of the Arab minority?

This basic lack of trust seems to be what has behind the recent extreme police action in Umm el-Fahm, which may have served as the trigger for the subsequent forest fire arson.

The police and Border Police had

## Dry Bones



clearly resorted to extreme measures to deal with what began as a rather tame demonstration over land ownership. They were responding to the throwing of fire-bombs by inflamed local Arab youths, and a clear attempt to close traffic on the Wadi Ara highway.

The police used (possibly exaggerated) force to drive home the crucial point that such behavior would simply not be tolerated within Israel's borders.

For Israel's military planners the Wadi Ara highway is of major strategic importance. In the event of an Arab invasion threat from the east it is one of the major roads through which Israeli forces would be rushed up from the center of the country to the threatened borders.

Theoretically, determined civilians in the Arab towns along the

road, where 70,000 Israeli Arabs reside, could delay such military reinforcements for several crucial hours. Israeli military and civilian leaders - and certainly those of the Netanyahu government - want to make it as clear as possible that no such interference would be tolerated, even at the cost of using major force to decimate such towns if a few of their residents attempted to interfere with the defense of the country.

Whether such a threat on the part of some Israeli Arabs is real, or merely a case of Israeli paranoia, is an important but moot point. What is of much greater importance is this lack of trust. What to do about isolating the instances of legitimate mistrust from the general attitudes to the Arabs is a problem for Israel's Jewish majority and Arab minority.

## Turkey deserves Israel's support

EFRAIM INBAR

Turkey has concentrated forces on its border with Syria and has issued stern warnings to President Hafez Assad to put an end to Syrian support for the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), a terrorist organization set on destabilizing the Turkish political system. These actions deserve Israel's support, as a matter of principle as well as expediency.

In international relations it is often difficult to distinguish between the good and bad guys, but there is a clear villain in the current Turkish-Syrian dispute. No neutral observer has any choice but to reprimand Syria for its state-sponsored terrorism and interference in the domestic affairs of its neighbor. Moreover, Turkey's demands are in full congruence with Western policy against rogue states, those countries which host terrorist organizations.

In contrast to many Western countries which pay lip service to the international norms that are at the core of the anti-terrorism policy, Turkey is acting on them. Turkey's actions follow the example set by the recent American military reaction to the bombing of its embassies in East Africa. The question asked is whether Israel - a constant target for many terrorist organizations - should maintain neutrality or issue unequivocal statements of support for the Turkish attempt to curb state-sponsored terrorism. Should Israel refrain from helping a newly acquired friend in a time of need?

**Turkey's decision to go for a test of force with Syria is a golden opportunity for Israel to further its own interests in the North**

He is not the least interested in peace with Israel.

Assad has twice refused to take back the Golan Heights in exchange for a peace treaty (the late prime minister Yitzhak Rabin's offer in August 1993, and the one reiterated by former prime minister Shimon Peres in January 1996). Therefore, he is Israel's enemy and should be treated as such. Luckily for Israel, he is also Turkey's foe.

Turkey's behavior should be emulated. It seems that Ankara has a good understanding of the Mideastern rules of the game. Eventually, calibrated use of force is necessary to deal with leaders such as Assad and Saddam Hussein.

Turkey was fed up with broken Syrian promises and continuous attempts to bleed it by guerrilla and terrorist tactics. Therefore, it decided to flex its muscles. Israel should laud the Turks and do the same.

Syria has allowed Hizbullah a free hand in Lebanon, even while it was holding peace talks with Israel. Damascus also hosts terrorist organizations such as the Islamic Jihad

Turkey and Israel share an interest in teaching Syria that certain types of behavior are unacceptable, and that if pursued despite repeated warnings, punishment will follow. Assad definitely has several redeeming qualities - among them caution and a remarkable ability to adjust to the prevailing balance of power. A lesson taught to Assad would have many reverberations in the region.

Primarily, it would have a moderating effect on other potential troublemakers. All political leaders in the region (with a few exceptions on the Israeli Left) fully comprehend that Turkey and Israel, with additional allies, could bring about more responsible behavior in many Mideastern capitals.

Finally, the US would be very pleased to learn that its two most loyal allies in the eastern Mediterranean are willing to resist, by force if necessary, the aggressive behavior of rogue states. A display of Turkish and Israeli resolution against terrorism would score important political points in Washington and would improve their status as American allies in a changing world. In foreign policy, moral imperatives do not often coincide with a calculus of utility. However, support for Turkey in the present crisis is precisely such a case.

The writer is the Director of Bar-Ilan University's Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies

## Tyranny of chess

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Not all chess players are crazy. I'm willing to venture that. But not much more. Eccentricity does reign in our precincts. In my 20s, I used to hang out at the Boston Chess Club. The front of the club was a bookstore in which you'd mill around, choose a partner, put your money down with the manager and go to the back room - 20 or so boards set up in utter barrenness - for some action. (At five bucks an hour it was cheaper than a bordello, but the principle seemed disturbingly similar to me.)

I remember one back room encounter quite vividly. The stranger and I sat down to the board together. I held out my hand and said, "Hi. I'm Charles." He pushed his white king's pawn and said, "I'm white," fixing me with a glare that said, "Don't you dare intrude into my space with names." It was dead silence from then on.

A psychiatrist colleague of mine came by to fetch me a few hours later. He surveyed the clientele - intense, disheveled, autistic - and declared, "I could run a group in here."

Don't get me wrong. Most chess players are sane. In fact, a group of the same ones, mostly journalists and writers, meets at my house every Monday night

for speed chess. (You make all your moves in under nine minutes total, or you lose.)

But all sane chess players know its dangers. Chess is an addiction. Like alcohol, it must be taken in moderation. Overindulgence can lead to a rapid downward spiral.

Vladimir Nabokov, a gifted creator of chess problems and a fine player, by the way, wrote a novel based on the premise of the psychic peril of too close an encounter with "the full horror and abyssal depths" of chess, as he called it, closed, looking-glass world.

(Nabokov's chess champion hero, naturally, goes bonkers.) Chess players, says, former US champion Larry Christiansen, inhabit a "subterranean, surreal world. It is not the real world, not even close." So what happens when a creature of that neither world seizes political power?

IMPOSSIBLE, you say: Sure, there have been dictators - Lenin, for example - who played serious chess, but there has never been a real chess player who became a dictator.

And no wonder, considering the alarming number of great

players who were so certifiably nuts they'd have trouble tying their shoelaces, let alone running a country. Wilhelm Steinitz, the first world champion, claimed to have played against God, given Him an extra pawn, and won. Bobby Fischer had the fillings in his teeth removed to stop the radio transmissions.

Well, in some Godforsaken corner of the Russian empire, Kalmykia on the Caspian, where the sheep outnumber people 2-to-1, the impossible has happened. A chess fanatic has seized power. Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, former boy chess champion, current president of the international chess federation, was elected president of Kalmykia two years ago on the promise of a cell phone for every sheepherder and \$100 for every voter in his destitute republic.

Naturally, nothing came of these promises. But once elected, he seized all the instruments of power including the police, the schools and the media.

Result? Ilyumzhinov calls it the world's first "chess state." God help us. Compulsory chess classes in all schools. Prime-time chess on TV. And in the midst of crushing poverty, a just erected

"Chess City," a surreal Potemkin village topped by a five-story glass-pavilioned chess palace where Ilyumzhinov has just staged an international chess tournament.

This scene would be Groucho running Fredonia if it weren't for the little matter of the opposition journalist recently murdered after being lured to a meeting where she was promised evidence of Ilyumzhinov's corruption. (Ilyumzhinov denies involvement. Perhaps it depends on how you define the word "involve.") Kalmykia is beginning to look less like Woody Allen's *Bananas* than Nurse Ratched's *Cuckoo's Nest*.

Ilyumzhinov rides around in his Rolls-Royce, presiding over a state that specializes in corruption and tax evasion. The *Washington Post* reports that he paved the road from the airport to the capital and painted every building along the way, but only the side that faces the road.

So now the world knows what chess players have known all along: A passion for chess, like a drug addiction or a criminal record, should be automatic disqualification for any serious public activity. Column writing excepted, of course.

(Washington Post Writers Group)

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### KEEPING AGREEMENTS

Sir - Adam Keller, in his letter "Israeli intransigence" (October 14), assumes that he knows my mind (he does not), and places my policies (incorrectly) on the extreme Right. Unlike him, however, I do not take as axiomatic the proposition that my country is always wrong.

As for his identification of Israel as the intransigent element in the present long-playing Arab-Jewish conflict, I can only remind him that the Israeli side has been holding its hand out for over a century, asking to be allowed to live together with the Arabs of the region, including those now called Palestinians.

This government has at no time

run summer camps in which small children were encouraged in an ambition to become suicide bombers, and to die together with Arab victims - unlike the present leadership of the Palestinian Authority. I limit myself to that one example for the sake of brevity; there are hundreds of others.

The past is the past, and I hope we can bury it magnanimously; but there is no reason for us to negotiate modalities for doing so, and then to find ourselves the only side expected to keep to the resulting agreements, while the other side feels itself free to encourage its populace to regard the hatchet as only temporarily buried, pending

renewed opportunity to emulate the Prophet, and take the weapon up again. There is no question here who is the intransigent.

STAN GOODMAN

Kiryat Tivon.

### NOT FUNNY

Sir - Whatever sympathy I might feel for Jonathan Rosenblum's position in "To build a new nation" (October 16) vanishes with his racist language. He equates current immigrants from the former USSR with the ecological disasters of African "killer" bees. Queensland cane toads, and the plague.

Whether the current batch of Russian immigrants is 40% non-Jewish by anyone's definition or 70% non-halachically Jewish (by his definition) should be immaterial, as they are all 100% human beings. Or is Rosenblum implying that they are 110% treif?

Perhaps this is an example of misplaced irony? Printed media do have limits conveying irony, sarcasm, or satire. I can hardly credit his admission that "the greater threat facing us is not the Palestinians, but the hard-core" as a serious mea culpa. He could learn from e-mail and place an emoticon such as :- ) around any section he wants us to take with humor not pain.

DAVID GUY

Rehovot.

### WYE'S IMPORTANCE

Sir - The Wye summit is important, not only because of the hopes that President Clinton and his administration have for a diplomatic breakthrough vis-a-vis the Oslo Accords and further Israeli "redeployment," but because we will see how President Clinton reacts to continued Arab terrorism.

How a president of the United States can act as if American lives were totally unimportant to him and to American values is beyond my comprehension. Unfortunately, the Palestinian Authority continues to refuse to transfer the murderers of Americans to the United States for trial.

We know that US Attorney General Janet Reno is very busy

these days investigating many aspects of the Clinton administration.

However, the Justice Department has taken no action whatsoever in bringing the murderers of American citizens to justice. It has not even issued statements recently in condemnation of such horrors.

Murderers of Americans should not go free.

TOBY WILLIG  
Member, International Council,  
Root & Branch  
Association, Ltd.  
Past national president,  
Emanuhel USA.

Jerusalem.

## FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On October 19, 1933, *The Palestine Post* published the full text of a cable received by the Jewish Agency from Mr. William Hearst in which he promised full cooperation of his powerful group of American newspapers for the Zionist movement. Hearst also hoped that the day would never come when the US would close its doors to the people whose courage and idealism have marked them for persecution

under reactionary governments.

50 years ago: On October 19, 1948, *The Palestine Post* reported that the Egyptian Majdal-Falujah front was smashed and the two flanks were encircled by Israeli troops. Most of the "ministers" of the "Gaza Government" fled to Egypt. The road to the central Negev was open and Israeli supply convoys moved unmolested. The Israeli government had offered to meet representatives of Egypt to

settle peacefully outstanding issues.

25 years ago: On October 19, 1973, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that the attacking Israeli forces had reestablished control over part of the east bank of the Suez Canal, linking up with the task force which had been operating on the Egyptian side of the waterway for the past four days. Syria had received 340 new Soviet tanks.

Alexander Zvielli



Sunday, October 18, 1998

Vol. CXLVI—No. 51,314

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The New York Times

# Weekly Review

Printed and distributed

in Israel

in association with  
The Jerusalem Post

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## Witching Hour

### Rethinking McCarthyism, if Not McCarthy

"I have here in my hand a list of 205 — a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

— Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Feb. 9, 1950, Wheeling, W. Va.

By ETHAN BRONNER

It is one of the most infamous speeches in American politics. Delivered just months after the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic device — a replica of the American bomb right down to the bolts — and months before the Communist North invaded South Korea and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were charged with selling nuclear secrets to Moscow, Senator McCarthy's words set off a period of political hysteria. It would be some time before the nation grasped that he not only had no scruples but that he also had no list. By then, many honorable Americans whose sentiments leaned to the left — among them, teachers and actors, journalists and Government functionaries — had lost their jobs in a witch hunt.

But half a century later, with Soviet-era archives open, it turns out there was a list. Not the fake one brandished by McCarthy before a group of Republican women, but a real one, with code names and salary receipts and carbons of sensitive messages on the Manhattan Project and American diplomatic strategy that were passed to the Soviets.

The appearance of the Soviet evidence starting in the early 1990's, after the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the 1995-1996 declassification of American intelligence files on the interception of Soviet spy cables — now widely known as the Venona decrypts — has unleashed a flood of scholarship. In a replay of old battles, it is a debate over American Communism and McCarthyism with two challenges.

#### Sullied Icons

One side is asking: If the left was so wrong so recently, why should it be listened to at all? The other side counters that when the right is given a chance, as it was in the early 1950's, it becomes vicious. And with the cold war won, it argues, there is a whiff of right-wing triumphalism in the air that must not go unaddressed.

The new documents certainly sully many icons of the old left. Julius Rosenberg, it is now clear, was guilty (though there is still debate about his



A barrage of new scholarship has revived McCarthy-era feuds over Communism. This pumpkin patch at Whittaker Chambers's Maryland farm figured prominently in the espionage case of Alger Hiss. Mr. Chambers led Federal agents to films of documents hidden in a hollowed-out pumpkin.

wife's complicity). Alger Hiss, according to respected new scholarship, was probably a Soviet agent and the American Government in the 1930's and 40's harbored hundreds of Communist spies and even more fellow travelers.

And there is more to come. Next year, Ronald Radosh, a senior research associate at George Washington University, will publish what he says is a devastating picture of the Spanish Civil War — as a gruesome example of Soviet imperialism dressed up as anti-fascism, rather than as the epic, noble battle the left has always said it was.

#### Extreme Measures

It is no surprise that, given the ferocity of the political struggle at the time, the scholarly struggle over the new data is raw and impassioned.

"On the one hand you have scholars showing that many members of the Communist Party were motivated by a legitimate desire to fight social injustice," said Jonathan Brent, editorial director of Yale University Press, which is publishing 25 volumes on the new material titled "Annals of Communism." "But at the top of the party they were controlled by Moscow. How do you reconcile the two?"

The new evidence has appeared so quickly and so forcefully, and at a time when Communism is so bereft of defenders and intellectual capital, that some have flirted with the rehabilitation of McCarthy himself.

In 1996, The Observer of London stated: "McCarthy has gone down as one of the most reviled men in U.S. history, but historians are now facing the unpleasant truth that he was right." In The Washington Post, Nicholas von Hoffman wrote, "Point by point, Joe McCarthy got it all wrong and yet was still closer to the truth than those who ridiculed him."

Such assertions send chills down the spine of Ellen Schrecker, a historian at Yeshiva University, whose new book, "Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America" (Little, Brown), argues that whatever harm may have come to the country from Soviet-sponsored spies is dwarfed by McCarthy's wave of terror, which crushed livelihoods as well as any alternative political discourse.

She said social developments like government-provided health care and strong labor unions — things commonplace elsewhere in the West — were stymied in America. And, she added, the China hands in the State Department who could have fended off the disaster of the Vietnam War had been purged for suspected Com-

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Be Careful What You Ask For

## What the Democrats Have in Mind for Ken Starr, Maybe

By JILL ABRAMSON

DEMOCRATS are salivating over the prospect of making Kenneth W. Starr, the independent counsel, their star witness in next month's Congressional impeachment hearings.

They hope that by criticizing the special prosecutor and putting his tactics in the spotlight, they may deflect some attention from President Clinton's legal problems.

But would Mr. Starr accept an invitation, or a summons, to appear before the Judiciary Committee? It is not clear that he has to, but he almost certainly would.

"Judge Starr will continue to cooperate with and respond to the Congress," said Charles Bakaly, a spokesman for the independent counsel's office.

#### A Coming Out Party

There is precedent for having an independent counsel testify before Congress. In 1997 Donald C. Smaltz, the independent counsel who has been investigating former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy, appeared before the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee to complain that the Justice Department had undermined his investigation by opposing its expansion.

After complaining about White House delaying tactics and stonewalling, it would be difficult for Mr. Starr to avoid testifying. And after more than four years of keeping largely mum as he investigated President Clinton and faced mounting attacks from White House allies, Mr. Starr might actually welcome the opportunity to introduce himself to the American public in his own



Kenneth W. Starr, independent counsel and potential witness for the defense.

words. Even some Democrats are worried that Mr. Starr, a former Federal judge and Solicitor General, might give a strong performance as a witness.

As Democrats planned an expansive inquisition of Mr. Starr, the House Judiciary Chairman, Henry J. Hyde, was talking of streamlining the 15 separate impeachment charges outlined by his committee's chief counsel, David P. Schippers, and of trying to wrap up the proceedings by the end of the year.

But Mr. Hyde and his Republican colleagues would be hard-pressed to oppose Democratic moves to put Mr. Starr on the witness stand, even if they had the votes to do so. (The 21 Republicans on the committee can overrule the 16 Democrats, but Mr. Hyde has said he hopes there can be bipartisan agreement on witnesses.)

"The reality is that they'd be clobbered politically if they didn't call Kenneth Starr," said Representative Barney Frank, the Massachusetts Democrat.

#### Facing Reality

Apparently recognizing that reality, Mr. Hyde has said that an appearance by Mr. Starr is fine with him.

President Clinton's Judiciary Committee allies have put Mr. Starr at the top of their wish list of witnesses. "Kenneth Starr deserves to be before the Judiciary Committee for many, many things," said John Conyers Jr., the panel's senior Democrat, who also served during the Watergate hearings two decades ago.

Other Democrats on the committee have said they may also want to summon some of Mr. Starr's deputies, as well as a group of conservative lawyers, including a

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# The World

## Israeli Business Flies Like a Dove

By WILLIAM A. ORME Jr.

**JERUSALEM**  
A FEW hours before boarding the plane that would take him to Washington for the peace talks that started last week, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu stood on a stage here and handed out etched glass trophies to 53 foreign businessmen whose companies had each sunk \$50 million or more into the Israeli economy.

As the executives filed by, each exchanged a greeting with the Prime Minister that was drowned out by a big band blasting "Blue Moon" and "I Did It My Way." Mr. Netanyahu turned to the audience, composed mostly of Israeli business executives, to relay the comments as if they were an informal poll.

"About a third said, 'Do everything you can to bring peace,' and another third said, 'Don't give away the store,'" Mr. Netanyahu reported. "The rest just said, 'Good luck.'"

The Israeli business leaders responded by giving Mr. Netanyahu an unsolicited poll of their own. They interrupted his tally to applaud the sentiment for peace, then clapped only politely through the rest.

This weekend, Mr. Netanyahu and Yasir Arafat have been wrangling in Maryland over land, guns and limits on sovereignty. Back home, it is striking how the business community not only has accepted what it sees as the inevitability of an independent Palestinian state, but is already preparing to profit from it.

Israeli executives are hardly peaceniks. The military industry is still at the technological heart of the economy, and corporate leaders tend disproportionately to be former high-ranking military officers. But they have clearly concluded that a settlement with Mr. Arafat is in their interest. And they voice rising impatience with a peace process that, as one leading industrialist grumbled last week, has so far produced "too much process and not enough peace."

Mr. Netanyahu is ultimately governed by his own conceptions of Israeli security as well as his partisan political constraints. But he cannot

be unmoved by the business consensus that a peace deal would provide an economic boon to his constituents.

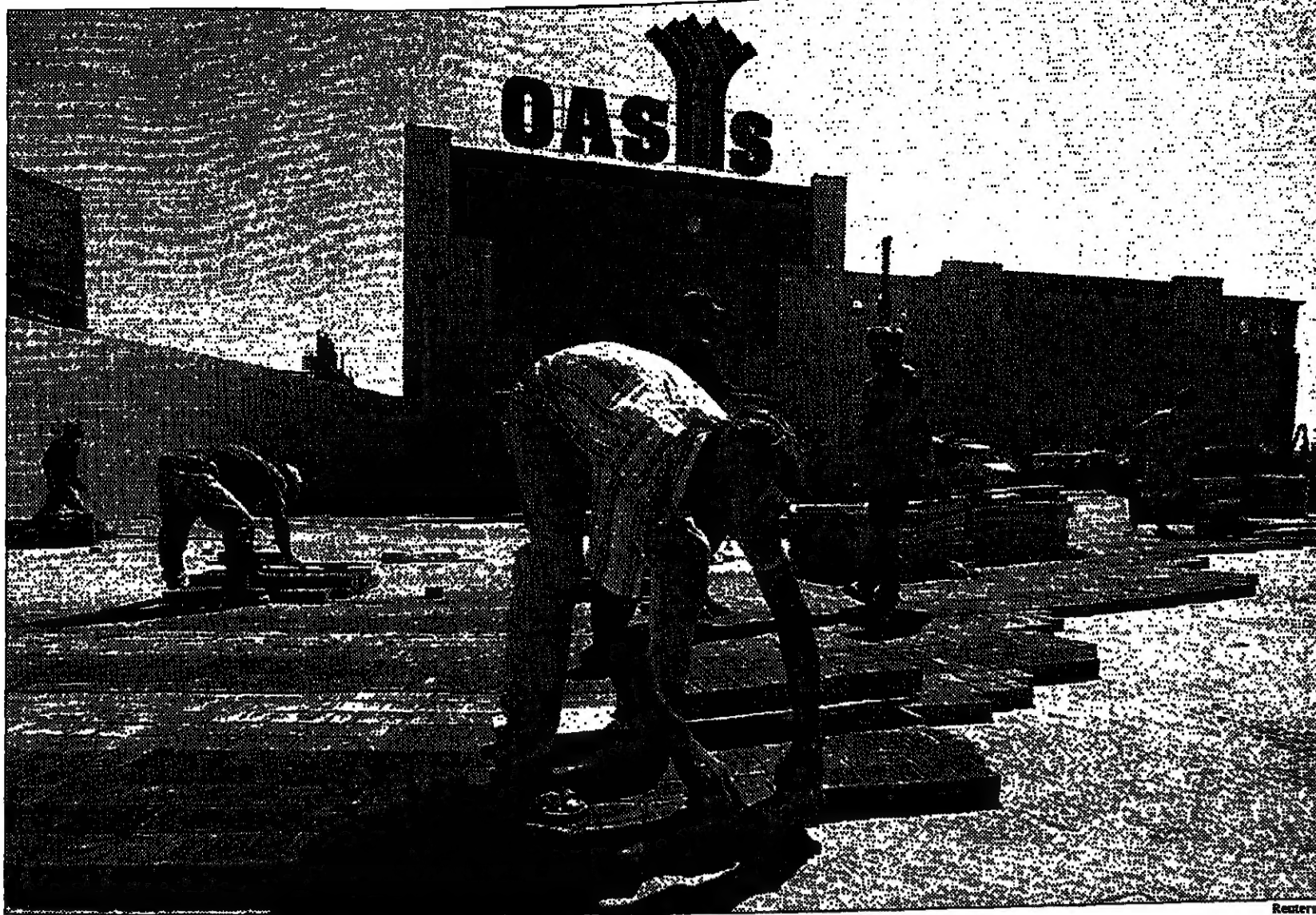
Many Israeli c.e.o.'s, in fact, say that beyond a negotiating breakthrough at the Wye Plantation summit, what they really are waiting for is a final accord with a sovereign Palestinian state because that would remove remaining regional barriers to Israeli exports and investments. Globalized though the Israeli economy might now be, they say, its greatest opportunity for further growth is here in the Middle East.

The awards ceremony that Mr. Netanyahu took part in was at a two-day international business conference organized by the Prime Minister's office to commemorate Israel's 50th anniversary. There was much bold talk of "privatizing peace" through joint ventures with Arab partners, including a Gaza industrial park, a \$60 million Israeli-Palestinian investment fund backed by the World Bank, and two binational projects with Jordan — a tourist airport on the Red Sea and a duty-free industrial zone straddling the Jordan River. "This kind of cross-border cooperation costs a lot less than an F-16, and it offers a much better return on investment," said Omar Salah, a Jordanian investor in the free zone project.

### Reluctant

The seemingly strong business consensus for a peace settlement does not necessarily translate into direct pressure to cut a deal, however. Israeli corporate leaders are cautious about overt intervention in politics and diplomacy, and most are not natural allies of Mr. Netanyahu and his Likud bloc. They are closer to the political and military leadership that governed under the Labor Party. "My fear is that business criticizing the Government will help them, not us," said Dov Lautman, chairman of Delta Gall Industries and board chairman of the Peres Peace Center, an institute that promotes joint Israeli-Palestinian business ventures.

Still, even Israeli economic officials talk about potential peace dividends. "We hope that the peace process is successful, because then we will be



As Israeli businesses hope for peace, Palestinians build too — here, an Austrian-run casino in Jericho that, they hope, will draw Israeli tourists.

able to do what all other countries in the world do, which is trade with our neighbors," said Max Livnat, senior deputy director general of the Trade and Industry Ministry.

"There can be no dispute that a peace process will be good for the Israeli economy," said Jacob Frenkel, Governor of the Central Bank. "This is not a political statement, it is a factual statement. Our ratings agencies, our investors, all look at the geopolitical situation, and they vote with their feet."

In the days following the signing of the Oslo accords five years ago, business leaders within and outside the region began holding conferences on the brave new business world of a peaceful Middle East. Multilateral lenders and money-center bankers drew up plans for regional investment funds and a Middle Eastern Development Bank. But momentum flagged as the peace process stalled.

Now, however, with talks resuming, some of the optimism is returning. Israeli executives were talking confidently last week of a free trade bloc that would include Israel, Jordan

and an independent Palestine as an almost immediate byproduct of a peace settlement; under this vision, broader regional trading arrangements could eventually extend west through Islamic Africa, east to the Persian Gulf states and north into Lebanon and Syria.

Israel as the hub of a Middle Eastern free trade area no longer seems so improbable here. The Israelis like to note that theirs is the only country with free trade agreements with both the United States and the European Union. This is true technically, as the West Bank and Gaza is not a country. But the Palestinian Authority has free trade privileges from both Washington and Brussels. It also has open trade with Egypt and Jordan, and a de facto customs union with Israel.

For potential Middle Eastern trading partners, disentangling the Palestinian-Israeli interrelationship would be more difficult than simply embracing it as a single market. And any regional trade arrangement that included the Palestinians but omitted the Israelis would be like NAFTA without the United States, or the Euro-

pean Union without Germany. Israel's economy is now far larger than that of all its contiguous neighbors — Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt — combined. Per capita gross domestic product stands at \$17,000, well within European norms, and some 20 times greater than Jordan's and Egypt's average incomes.

### The Dividend

The peace process has already been good for business, Israeli executives say. The Arab boycott of Israel — and of multinationals that did business here — began to fracture after the Oslo accords were signed. Foreign investment climbed dramatically from \$400 million yearly before 1993 to a reported \$2.4 billion in 1996, as dramatized by last week's parade of c.e.o.'s from Boeing, Unilever, Nestle, Cable & Wireless, Johnson & Johnson, Motorola, and other multinational heavyweights. Israeli businessmen are penetrating markets in Asia, Africa and the former Soviet bloc, and Japan, long conspicuously absent from the Israeli business

scene, opened a trade promotion office here last year.

Oslo may get more credit than it deserves. The Israeli expansion of the 1990's was also fueled by the worldwide growth of investment in emerging markets. And most of the high-tech companies nurtured by this capital influx have their origins in the Israeli defense industry, not in the peace process; their natural markets are in the United States and Europe, not the Middle East. But the impact of expanded international opportunities should not be underestimated, Israeli business leaders say.

"The economic benefits of the peace process are irrefutable," said Benjamin Gaon, an industrialist. "Our diplomatic relationships have doubled, and we have open business relationships around the world. Gone are the days of secret dealings through intermediaries."

"The business community should not just reap the rewards of the peace process, but should assist it, even lead it," he added. "Peace is too precious a thing to be left in the hands of politicians, or even generals."

### Europe's New Policeman

## NATO Shatters Old Limits in the Name of Preventing Evil

By ROGER COHEN

**BRUSSELS**  
HALF a century after it was founded, NATO expanded its mandate last week, taking upon itself a mission to extend freedom, human rights, civility and the rule of law in Europe.

There has been much talk of such a shift since the cold war ended almost a decade ago. Indeed the expansion of NATO, which will admit three new members next year, is less about military security in the strictest sense — real threats are remote — than about the consolidation of a bigger area of like-minded, market-oriented democracies.

Still, NATO's decision that it was ready to bomb Serbia over human-rights abuses against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo amounted to a watershed, raising all sorts of questions about the criteria by which the world's most powerful military alliance would determine its actions, the (diminished) nature of sovereignty in the modern world and how countries like Russia and China might respond.

The bombing, of course, did not take place. America's special envoy, Richard C. Holbrooke, conjured up another deal with the Yugoslav President, Slobodan Milosevic, to avert military action, and NATO then gave Serbia 10 more days to cooperate, when compliance was slow. Still, the threat of bombing looms.

But for the long-term nature of European security, it was perhaps more significant that NATO was ready to put together what looked like a less-than-water-tight legal argument as justification for intervention in the internal affairs of Serbia on essentially moral grounds.

For Kosovo is not Bosnia, where a United Nations mandate authorizing the use of "all necessary means" existed and NATO intervention was sought by the Bosnian Government to stop the state's dismemberment. Nor is it Kuwait or Iraq, where similarly emphatic Security Council resolutions buttressed the use of Western military power.

Rather, Kosovo seems to have precipitated a new interpretation of post-cold-war security, in a world where two genocides have already taken place (in Bosnia and in Rwanda), and where the reality of sovereignty in a growing number of places seems increasingly flimsy. Speaking in Brussels, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright came close to defining the new style of thinking when she declared that NATO was "our institution of choice" for "defending Western values on the continent." As such, she said, the alliance must be "prepared to act when a threat of this nature exists on



NATO has threatened bombing in Serbia to force a withdrawal from Kosovo of policemen like this one near the town of Malisevo.

Europe's doorstep."

Defending Western values throughout the European continent? And perhaps, one day, further afield? Has the Western alliance, as it prepares to celebrate its 50th anniversary at a conference in Washington next year, become an upholder of Western decency on a potentially universal scale?

All this, of course, is a very long way from the core of NATO's mission as defined in the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949, in which NATO states committed themselves to collective self-defense on the basis that "an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all."

But the fact is, as Jonathan Eyal, a London-based strategic analyst, remarked, "If NATO is there today simply to defend mem-

ber states, it may as well pack its bags and go home." He added that "the legal basis for intervention in Kosovo is shaky," but the "alternative is to give Russia an effective veto over NATO by making NATO a hostage of U.N. resolutions at a time when the alliance must project security in Europe."

### Jitters

Nonetheless, at NATO headquarters, as the decision to approve an "activation order" opening the way for military action was made last Tuesday, the uneasiness over the precedent being set was palpable. Although NATO officials insisted that everyone was fully satisfied about the legality of the action, several states, including Germany and Italy, were clearly nervous.

For what NATO had done, officials conceded, was to patch together a loose array of arguments. Some were based on the "humanitarian crisis" in Kosovo, some on a perceived threat to security in southeastern Europe and others on the failure of Mr. Milosevic to comply with United Nations Resolution 1199, which calls on him to cease all action by his security forces and withdraw most of them from Kosovo.

"There was agreement on a broad range of legal points," said a Western official. "But the humanitarian question was decisive. In the end, faced by the choice between tens of thousands of evicted people dying this winter and doing something, the decision was pretty clear."

Article 3 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which applies to "conflict not of an interna-

tional character," — the situation in Kosovo — states that "people taking no active part in the hostilities" shall always "be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, color, religion or faith, birth or wealth." It prohibits "humiliating and degrading treatment" and "violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture."

Serbian violation of the convention has been clear in Kosovo, where over 200,000 Kosovar Albanians have been driven from their homes because of their ethnic identity. What was new, startlingly new, was that NATO should be satisfied with such "humanitarian" arguments as a basis to act. The other NATO arguments — relating to United Nations Resolution 1199 and to a threat to NATO security in southeastern Europe — appear uncertain at best.

Because of Russian objections, the Sept. 23 resolution never mentions a use of force, although it does allude to Article VII of the United Nations Charter, which envisages the use of force without the consent of the parties to a dispute. As for Kosovo's threat to the security of NATO member states, it remains somewhat remote.

### A Moral Standard

But in an end-of-the-century world of failed states and repeated atrocities, it appears that NATO has decided it must sometimes have the courage to act to uphold a moral standard, one that the laws of war have long, but often vainly, identified.

This decision — essentially an attempt to curtail evil — leaves many Europeans uneasy. "What we have done has sent a clear message to the Russians that they do what they like on their side, and to the Chinese that, in a crisis, they also do as they like in their sphere," said Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a member of Germany's environmentalist Green party and of the European Parliament. "America is built on the respect of the law, and we have to be very careful about respecting the will of the United Nations."

The Greens are about to join Germany's new government, and their point of view is certain to be expressed by a foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, who will be drawn from their ranks.

But if the United Nations Security Council can only offer paralysis or inertia, NATO has now shown it is ready to move beyond it.

"The Alliance has become the fireman for an enlarged Europe, a stabilizer for all seasons," said Dominique Moisi, the deputy director of the French Institute for International Relations. "That is a critical role, one that should be carried out within the context of the law. If possible, that is."



# The Nation

## Tailoring the S.&L. Crisis To Save Japan's Banks

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

A GOOD portion of the financial system was buried under a mountain of bad debts that was growing bigger with each passing day. Yet politicians, pressed by powerful interests and afraid of committing huge sums of taxpayer money to the problem, were dithering about how to respond. Other nations looked on with concern and disdain.

There are striking parallels between the United States in 1988 as it struggled to address its savings and loan crisis and Japan in 1988 as it grapples with a banking system so burdened with sour loans that it has virtually stopped lending.

In those similarities are many lessons about mistakes to be avoided. And given that the United States eventually dealt with the near-collapse of its savings and loan industry — decisively if belatedly — there may also be a road map in the American experience toward a solution for Japan and other nations where a recovery from the global economic crisis depends on resuscitating their enfeebled banking systems.

Japan is still in the process of recognizing the severity of its banking problems and that any solution will be expensive and painful. It took a big step down that path Friday when the Parliament agreed on major elements of a plan to spend around \$500 billion of taxpayer money to shore up ailing banks and make it easier for the Government to take over insolvent ones.

Now the Japanese Government, which has allowed the problem to fester for years, has to prove to a skeptical world that it has the resolve to use those tools. The Clinton Administration, in particular, is convinced that Japan cannot pull itself out of recession and help address the rest of Asia's woes until it has dealt with the problem. It has grown increasingly impatient with Tokyo for not moving more aggressively.

### Face Up

It may be worth remembering, however, that it took the United States years to face up to the damage done to the economy by the wholesale failures that swept the savings and loan industry during the late 1980's.

Much like their Japanese counterparts now, American regulators and industry executives initially bet that they could wait out the problem, that depressed prices for the real estate they had foreclosed on would bounce back, that a stronger economy would eventually strengthen their borrowers and enable them to pay up.

"The hardest thing is getting a consensus that you have a problem that can't be solved by conventional means," said John E. Ryan, a former head of the Resolution Trust Corporation, the agency set up to sell off real estate and other assets of failed savings institutions. "It's a very difficult consensus to achieve and we were a long time in achieving it. You can remember the time we spent in this country kidding ourselves and believing that the markets would bail us out."

Indeed, it was only in 1988, after hundreds of savings

institutions had failed and economists began frightening politicians into action by estimating that the problems would cost hundreds of billions of dollars to fix, that Congress and the Bush Administration became serious about dealing with the crisis.

In August 1989, Congress passed legislation intended to make it easier for regulators to seize control of insolvent or failing savings institutions and sell off their component parts. The idea was that the financial system's problems and the depressive effect they were having on the real estate market and the general economy were best solved by taking a painful hit in a concentrated period.

The key to making it work was the Resolution Trust Corporation, which quickly became the repository of all the repossessed office buildings, strip malls and houses accumulated by unwise or unlucky or crooked savings

### The U.S. climbed out of a financial morass in the 80's, but not without dithering.

and loan managers around the country, as well as their money-losing portfolios of high-risk junk bonds and other questionable assets.

There was not much of a market for many of the properties. To get things moving, the agency sold some real estate and other assets for bargain prices. The sales drew more buyers for other properties, generating more competition and higher prices. The agency packaged some properties together to make them more attractive to investors, and spruced up others.

From 1989 through the early 1990's, the Government shut down 747 savings institutions with assets of \$455 billion. By the time they had all been picked apart and sold off by the Resolution Trust Corporation, the gap between what they owed depositors and what all their assets were worth was \$84.7 billion. Combined with the \$70 billion in losses run up by the several hundred additional savings institutions that had failed between 1986 and 1989, the total bill to the taxpayer and the industry-financed deposit insurance program was nearly \$155 billion. But the problem was dealt with in just a few years — the agency, its job completed, was disbanded in 1995 — and the country and the economy could move on.

Now governments in Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea and Japan, among other countries, are trying to adopt big portions of the American approach. Officials from Japan in particular have spent considerable time with officials at the Office of Thrift Supervision and other regulatory agencies in Washington. The main message they hear from the United States is the necessity of moving quickly.

"The R.T.C. made the very tough decision just to sell at market regardless of what market was," said Jona-



Yoshihiko Okura, president of Okura and Company Ltd., announcing a bankruptcy filing in Tokyo.

than Flechter, the former top savings and loan regulator in America, who now works for the World Bank advising developing nations how to clean up financial messes.

"In Asia they're running into great trouble with criticism about fire sale prices, since you're often selling assets of people who are friends of very senior people," he said. "The lesson of the R.T.C. was that eventually you get through it."

### Loss of Face

But it is by no means clear that Japan, whose problems dwarf those of other nations, has accepted that lesson. Banks are reluctant to seek help from the Government voluntarily, since doing so involves a loss of face for the managers, if not the loss of their jobs.

Big borrowers, especially construction companies that are major contributors to the governing Liberal

Democratic Party, are pressing the Government to give banks more time. Troubled banks continue to hide their losses from regulators.

Japan has cleared a big hurdle in proving willing in principle to spend huge sums of money on the problem. But Bert Ely, a consultant who tracked the savings and loan crisis here, said the Japanese plan so far has been nothing more than a facade, since the Government has been unwilling to force banks to prove they can survive or shut them down.

"It looks almost entirely like what we were doing before 1989 in the sense of delaying the inevitable, postponing a resolution of the banking problems and of the bad loans," Mr. Ely said.

"We learned that the hole in fact kept getting deeper," he added. "It's like a credit card balance. It doesn't peak and then subside, the problem just keeps getting bigger."

### A Poll-Watcher's Guide

## Stalking the Elusive Likely Voter

By MICHAEL R. KAGAY

WITH midterm elections just around the corner and the impeachment inquiry of President Clinton set to start shortly afterward, public opinion polls are more numerous, more important and possibly more confusing than usual.

In any election year, pollsters try to predict which voters will go to the polls and what they will do when they get there. Turnout is important, but issues and circumstances like the state of the economy are what often drive the result.

But this year, the conventional wisdom has it, turnout is everything. If the Presidential sex scandal galvanizes Clinton opponents, Republicans win. If the widespread public distaste for impeachment proceedings mobilizes a backlash vote, Democrats may gain the upper hand.

So pollsters are focusing even more than usual this year on figuring out who will really take the trouble to vote, searching for that mythical beast known as the "likely voter."

In assessing pre-election polls, here are some things to look for:

### Accurate Sampling

Good polls start with good samples of the population from all geographical areas and segments of society. In recent decades this has been accomplished by "random digit dialing," in which a computer selects area codes and exchanges and then makes up the last four digits at random to form complete telephone numbers.

For decades pollsters have demonstrated how 1,000 or so people can accurately represent all adults in the entire nation — plus or minus a few percentage points, the potential fluctuation that is inherent in every poll because it is a sampling rather than a census.

### Likely Voters

In the period leading up to any election, pollsters make a big mistake if they try to represent all adults in their polls. In the 1996 Presidential election, only about 49 percent of all adults actually voted. In the 1994 midterm election, about 39 percent voted.

Thus it is critical to screen for likely voters by discarding the opinions of half to two-thirds of all adults polled.

Each polling organization has its own screening method. The Gallup Organization, which polls for USA Today and CNN, has one of the most elaborate and well-tested systems. It gives respondents points for voting in past elections, their current intention to vote and their knowledge of where to

### It All Depends

The results of any opinion poll vary depending on who is asked the questions and how the questions are phrased.

#### FINDING LIKELY VOTERS

Polls that take the pulse of the general population do a bad job forecasting election results because so many people don't vote. So pollsters try to find people who are likely to vote.

A recent New York Times/CBS News poll showed that when asked which party's candidates they preferred in the Congressional elections, respondents tended to lean more toward Republicans as the focus narrowed to likely voters.

	Democrat	Republican
Registered voters	37%	37%
Likely voters	42%	42%
More likely voters	48%	48%

#### NOW QUESTIONS ARE PHRASED

The phrasing of poll questions can make a big difference. The Gallup poll asked people to rate Congressmen one way; The New York Times and CBS asked it another way.

GALLUP/USA TODAY/CNN POLL (OCT. 9-12)

Please tell me whether or not you think each of the following political officeholders deserve to be re-elected. First, most members of the House of Representatives, second, your own representative?

	Deserve	Not deserve
Most Representatives	29%	29%
Own Representative	15%	15%

NEW YORK TIMES/CBS NEWS POLL (OCT. 12-13)

Do you think most members of Congress have done a good enough job to deserve re-election, or do you think it's time to give new people a chance?

	Deserve	Not deserve
Most Representatives	24%	24%
Own Representative	46%	46%

The New York Times

go to vote, among other factors. Respondents score from zero to seven points; Gallup then picks those respondents with the most points, working down until they reach a percentage of the total group that is equal to the expected nationwide turnout (expected to be 39 percent this year).

The New York Times/CBS News Poll, by com-

parison, screens in several ways. "Likely voters" in this year's polls are those who say they voted in either 1996 or 1994, who say they are paying attention to this year's campaign, and who say they will definitely vote in November.

"More likely voters" differ by saying they voted in both 1996 and 1994.

The Times has found that its polling results become more pro-Republican when the focus is limited to likely and more likely voters, suggesting that if turnout is lower than usual this year, it will help Republicans. But Gallup does not find nearly so strong a pattern, suggesting that the contest remains very close at all levels of turnout.

David W. Moore, vice-president of Gallup, maintains that the organization's standard "likely voter" questions should still be adequate even in this unusual year. Mr. Moore says a person who shows little history of voting in past elections but who becomes motivated to vote this year by the Presidential scandal or the impeachment hearings might well be overlooked as a likely voter. But he added that he thought the people most likely to be roused to vote by the scandal or hearings would probably be strong Republicans or strong Democrats who are already frequent past voters.

### Phrasing of Questions

Even though the latest Gallup and Times/CBS News polls issued last week agree in many areas, Gallup found that most Americans believe their incumbent Representatives deserve re-election. The Times/CBS News poll, on the other hand, found Americans to be narrowly split on the issue.

Closer examination suggests that the discrepancy may be due to the different wording of the questions. Gallup asked: "Please tell me whether or not you think each of the following political officeholders deserves to be re-elected. First, most members of the House of Representatives; second, your own representative."

The Times/CBS News poll linked re-election to job performance, and also asked whether it is time to give new candidates a chance, thus offering a potential reason why a respondent might prefer not to re-elect an incumbent.

Both sets of questions clearly show that people like their own Representative better than they like Congress in the aggregate, and both organizations find, each using its own questions, that willingness to re-elect incumbents is higher now than it was in 1994.

### Multiple Polls

It is a pollster's maxim that the truth lies not in any one poll but at the center of gravity of several polls. When polls agree, it often means the findings are solid. But when they disagree, it often means the findings are more fragile or tentative.

The best advice, therefore, is to track the findings of several organizations.

## What Democrats Plan for Starr

Continued from Page 9

one-time law partner of Mr. Starr. These lawyers advised the legal team working on Paula Corbin Jones's sexual harassment lawsuit against the President and helped steer Linda R. Tripp to Mr. Starr last January, launching the sex-and-perjury probe of President Clinton.

Although the first meeting between White House lawyers and the committee lawyers will not begin until later this week, the President's allies are already mapping out the areas on which they would like to grill Mr. Starr.

A major focus for the Democrats will be to pursue allegations of collusion between the Jones lawyers and Mr. Starr's office. Democrats have reviewed an Oct. 5 letter from David E. Kendall, one of Mr. Clinton's private attorneys, to Attorney General Janet Reno in which Mr. Kendall raised questions about communications between Mr. Starr's office and the Jones team.

### The Tripp Tip

One issue raised in the letter is a report in The New York Times about Mr. Starr's office having received, through intermediaries, a tip about Ms. Tripp before she contacted the independent counsel's office. Democrats have also seized on a National Public Radio report about Mr. Starr's conversations with one of Ms. Jones's former lawyers before he was appointed independent counsel. Mr. Starr did not disclose these consultations to the Justice Department before requesting an expansion of the investigation into matters relating to Monica S. Lewinsky and the Jones case, lawyers familiar with the discussions said.

Democrats may also question Mr. Starr about whether his office leaked confidential information to the news media, a matter that is already under investigation on the orders of a Federal judge in Washington. Mr. Starr has denied any improper contacts with reporters.

Other areas the Democrats plan to pursue, according to several committee aides, include the

grounds on which Mr. Starr sought to expand his Whitewater inquiry into the Lewinsky case; his office's treatment of Ms. Lewinsky during early immunity talks last January, and the independent counsel's dealings with Ms. Tripp in the days before he received permission to expand his investigation.

"The idea is to show that Starr is the most overzealous prosecutor ever," said a strategist with close ties to the White House.

### The 'Fanatic'

But the potential for such a strategy to backfire is not insignificant. The fanatical prosecutor Democrats hope to introduce in televised hearings is a polished lawyer whose testimony could deflate the caricature of a pursed-lipped chief of the nation's sex police. Though his White House critics have portrayed him as having a tin ear when it comes to public relations, Mr. Starr could use his turn as a witness to lay out a compelling case against the President.

"He's not going to come off the way James Carville portrays him," said Theodore B. Olson, a Washington lawyer and friend of Mr. Starr. "He doesn't drool. He doesn't have two heads or pointed teeth." Mr. Olson said he expected Mr. Starr to be a sympathetic witness who would not lose his cool no matter how hostile the questions get. "I don't think I've ever seen Ken get mad," he said.

### Ducking Boomerangs

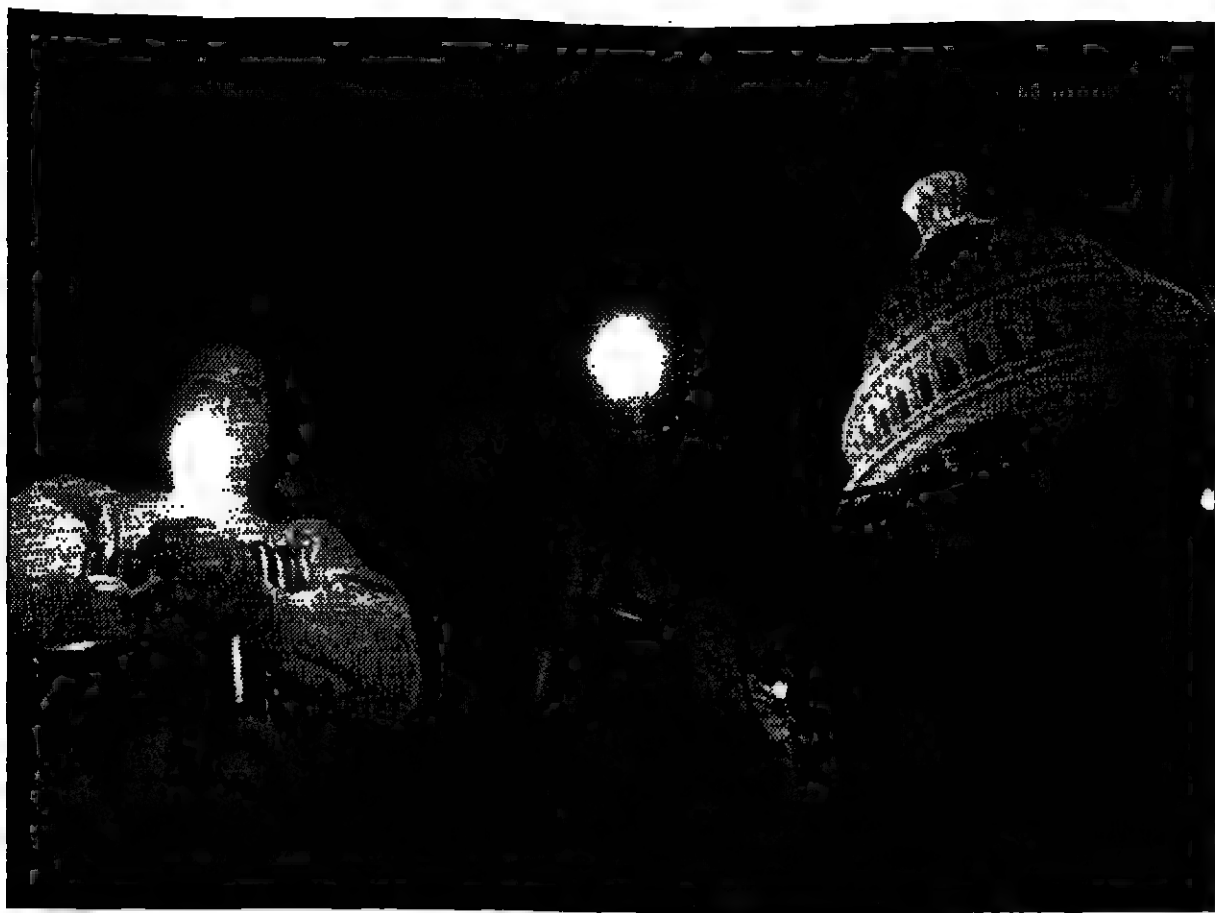
Some Democrats are so nervous that Mr. Starr's appearance could boomerang that they want to take his deposition behind closed doors, a proposal Republicans would probably reject.

One Democratic strategist fretted that a Starr appearance at impeachment hearings might wind up like President Clinton's videotaped testimony before Mr. Starr's grand jury.

"The Republicans kept saying how devastating the tape would be," said the Democrat, "but the public sympathized with him. It's natural to sympathize with the person in the hot seat."

Michael R. Kagay heads the polling staff at





The murder of Matthew Shepard, a homosexual college student, prompted a vigil on Capitol Hill last week.



Three white men are accused of dragging James Byrd Jr., who was black, to his death behind this truck.

## Hate Laws Don't Matter, Except When They Do

By RICK LYMAN

**T**HE crime was horrific enough: cunningly cruel, brutal and utterly senseless. But it was the way the victim was chosen — singled out because he was part of a despised minority — that aroused the nation.

The murder in June of James Byrd Jr., torn to pieces when he was dragged behind a pickup truck in Jasper, Tex., spurred demands for toughening the state's broadly worded hate-crime law and for passage of Federal hate-crime legislation.

And now, the brutal and equally senseless death last week of Matthew Shepard, slashed, bludgeoned and tied to a fence post in rural Wyoming, apparently because he was homosexual, is spurring new demands for a hate-crime law in Wyoming, one of 10 states that has none, and for passage of Federal hate-crime legislation.

But the argument for hate-crime laws, especially as they relate to capital crimes like the murders of Mr. Byrd and Mr. Shepard, is not so clear, prosecutors and others say. In the case of Mr. Byrd, for example, the prosecutor does not intend to invoke the Texas hate-crime law against the three white men charged with the murder. He says it would be pointless.

"In Texas, our hate-crimes statute works by elevating the punishment," said Guy James Gray, the Jasper County District Attorney. "But this one is already as high as you can go. It's a capital case. There's no room to elevate it any higher."

The same would probably be true in the Shepard case if Wyoming had a hate-crime law. And that's the paradox: The very cases that cause a national outcry for hate-crime laws are cases in which the laws are unnecessary.

"These hate-crime laws make a statement about how we feel about hate crimes and, in some respects, it will probably help,"

said Kelly Anders, a policy associate for the National Conference of State Legislatures in Denver. "Unfortunately, for the worst of these crimes, the kind that we all hear about, it probably wouldn't have any effect. If something is egregious enough, like what happened to that poor guy in Wyoming, that surpasses any kind of penalty on the books. That's the death penalty right there."

Still, an argument can be made that such laws are valuable.

They probably have some deterrent effect, Ms. Anders said. And there are certainly some cases involving misdemeanors or other lesser crimes, she added, where those convicted have faced harsher penalties.

### Hard to Count

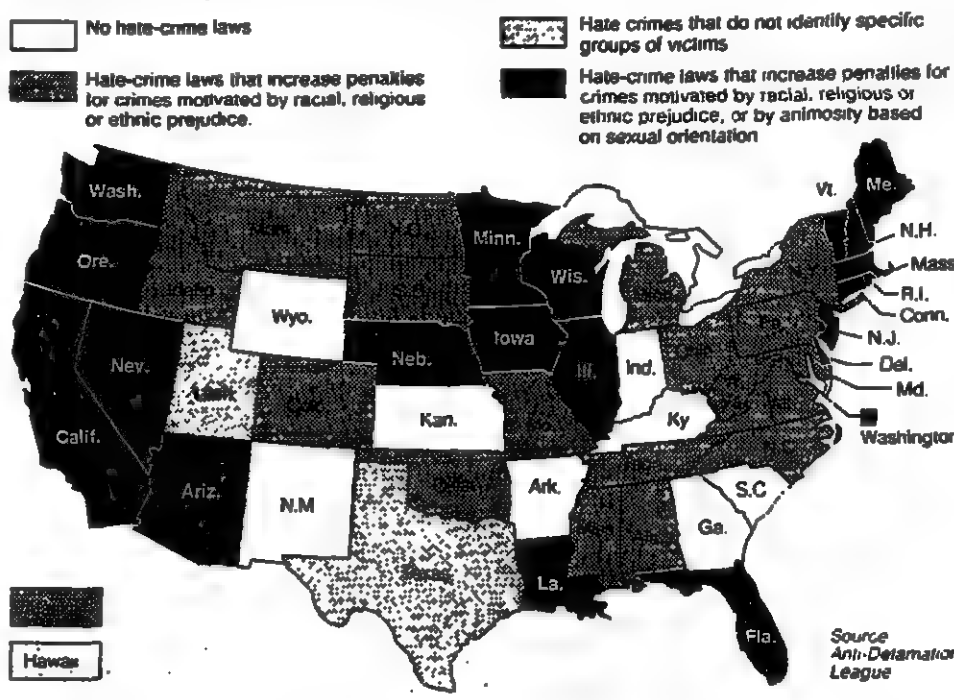
Attempts to determine the effectiveness of hate-crime laws are hampered by the lack of statistics. The Hate Crime Statistics Act, enacted in 1990, called on the Federal Bureau of Investigation to compile data from local law-enforcement agencies about crimes that "manifest prejudice based on race, religious, sexual orientation or ethnicity." The F.B.I. reported 4,598 hate crimes in 1991 and 7,587 in 1993, for example. But the accuracy of those numbers is in doubt because the number of agencies reporting hate crimes has fluctuated from year to year. Only about 60 percent of the 16,000 law-enforcement agencies in the country regularly report hate crimes to the agency.

Organizations like the Anti-Defamation League and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force say the laws are valuable because they shape the way society thinks about itself and draw boundaries of what society will tolerate.

And advocates argue that society's speaking out, clearly and specifically, against crimes directed at members of a minority group can make the members of that group feel less isolated and threatened. Also, they argue, people convicted of hate crimes, especially the young, could be helped if they are

### Penalizing Prejudice

Most states have passed hate-crime laws, but with varying provisions.



given counseling. And, they say, police officers might become more vigilant about such crimes if the laws require training on the issue, as the laws in eight states do. But critics of these laws say they are a sneaky way of restricting political speech.

"The law historically has gone against punishing people for their thoughts, and that is what hate-crimes laws do," Ms. Anders said. "That's what makes it so delicate. You have to make sure when you're drafting legislation that you're not punishing people for their thoughts. And that's a very difficult

thing, because that's what it is."

There have been two significant legal challenges to hate-crimes laws, both involving free-speech issues.

In 1992, the Supreme Court ruled on a case involving a Minnesota statute used in the case of a white man who burned a cross in a black family's back yard. Minnesota's highest court had ruled that the statute was constitutional because it was proper to criminalize "fighting words," or speech that would almost inevitably result in a violent response. But the Supreme Court disagreed,

saying that Minnesota had not criminalized all such "fighting words," and to single out only some for special treatment was improper.

The next year, however, the Supreme Court upheld a Wisconsin statute that imposed higher penalties for hate crimes. This approach has since been adopted by all but 10 states, to varying degrees and in accordance with the Supreme Court's view that it is proper to add penalties for existing crimes, but not to create a new category of crime.

Some states, including Texas, aren't explicit about which groups are covered by their hate-crimes statutes. Of those that do specify, 20 states mention race, religion or ethnicity, 11 mention sexual orientation, 11 mention gender and 12 mention other categories, like mental or physical disability.

And some states have penalties that vary with the severity of the crime. In Wisconsin, for instance, a simple fine might be added to the penalty for a misdemeanor conviction, while five years could be added to a felony sentence.

### An Extra Tool

Mr. Gray, the prosecutor in Texas, said his decision not to use a hate-crime law in the murder of Mr. Byrd should not be viewed as a lack of support for such laws.

"It does have an impact," he said. "It's one more tool that a prosecutor can use."

There is another case underway in Jasper County, he said, a case involving the firing of a weapon in which no one was injured. It happened for racial reasons, he said, and the use of the hate-crime law led to tougher punishment.

"When you present hate-crime evidence in a courtroom, the jury normally becomes angry over some offense that is, in effect, senseless and they impose a stronger punishment," he said. "What the legislation does is give the jury the opportunity to increase the level of punishment, and they do take advantage of it."

## Almost, But Not Quite, Déjà Blue All Over Again

By LESLIE EATON

**N**O, it's not your imagination. New York really does seem to be living through 1987 all over again. Just look at the calendar: Tomorrow is Oct. 19, the very date that will live in financial infamy as Black Monday, when the stock market plunged 23 percent.

And there are other, creepier parallels, as a glance over some old and new headlines will attest.

Then, as now, Donald J. Trump was bent on gracing the city's skyline with a new "world class" tower — although back then it was the West Side ("Celebrities Open Wallets to Fight Trump's Project"), while this time it's the East Side ("Trump Starts New Tower Near the U.N.").

Then, as now, scandal rocked Wall Street's elite — except then it was insider trading starring Ivan Boesky, not hedge-fund havoc with John Meriwether. And then, as now, George Steinbrenner was threatening to move the Yankees to New Jersey.

As they do today, tourists thronged the streets, to the increasing annoyance of the natives. In the city, prices of luxury co-ops were in the stratosphere, as they are now, and new office towers were sprouting in midtown, a little to the north and west of today's hot spot, Times Square. Unemployment dropped to levels unseen in years, like nowadays.

But the stock market began falling from its peak in the summer, just as it did this year. Worrywarts brooded about the city's growing dependence on Wall Street. And, as if to confirm those fears, Salomon Brothers on Oct. 12, 1987, announced big layoffs — much as Merrill Lynch announced last week (on Oct. 13, to be precise) that it was eliminating thousands of jobs, including 1,000 employees and outside consultants in the city.

Sure, there are differences, and not merely the Land Rovers in place of Jaguars as status symbols. Investment in the stock market is more pervasive, thanks to mutual funds and retirement plans, but investors seem less likely to be spooked — at least so far. After all, they still have the gains they made during three years of astonishingly high returns.

And most important, interest rates are far lower than they were in 1987; in fact, they are lower now than they were just last week, thanks to the Federal



Trump, 1987

Trump, 1998

### Reserve's actions on Thursday

After the Crash of 1987, there were some immediate forecasts of gloom and doom, but many in the city pooh-poohed the notion that Wall Street's troubles would have a broad effect on most New Yorkers. For a time they seemed to be right.

But by the end of the following year, New York City government revenues had fallen sharply, including toll collections, since there were fewer commuters into Manhattan. The jobs rate began to climb. By the spring of 1989 many who had bought apartments at the peak found that they could not sell them for enough to cover their mortgages.

The real recession had begun.

It turned out that axing all those fat cats on Wall Street had an effect on other people — restaurant owners, accountants, lawyers, bicycle messengers, real estate agents, panhandlers. It just takes a while for the economic effects of any change to filter out into the broader society.

None of this means that a similar recession is just around the corner in the city that considers itself the world's financial capital. This time around, the national economy is in much better shape: The Federal Government is not running a deficit, inflation is not a worry, and Alan Greenspan, the Fed chairman, isn't raising interest rates as he was in 1987. The city's finances are in far better shape too, and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani has already budgeted for lower tax receipts from Wall Street.

But those who forget history — well, you know. Or, as they say on Wall Street, "The most dangerous words in the English language are, 'It's different this time.'"

## Rethinking McCarthyism

(Continued from Page 9)

munist sympathies.

The gush of new scholarship from the archives is less rigorous than it appears, say Professor Schrecker and others, including Victor Navasky, publisher of *The Nation*, who wrote "Naming Names" (Viking, 1980), a book about Hollywood blacklisting. The scholarship relies heavily on the boasts of Soviet-paid agents in America eager to impress their Moscow masters. And, they say, it is scholarship with an agenda.

"What is happening today is an effort to deny the legitimacy not just of those who favored the Communist Party but the entire left-wing political movement in the post-Berlin Wall moment," said Nelson N. Lichtenstein, a history professor at the University of Virginia. "The whole anti-racist, anti-capitalist impulse in American life, which reached its apogee in the 1930's and 40's, is on the line. If it turns out these movements were the results of Communists advancing their goals, are they still legitimate? People like Ron Radosh want to discredit not only that historical episode but the moral legitimacy of the left in the United States today."

Mr. Radosh says he has little patience for these arguments. "I deal with issues of historical truth," he said. "The left's inability to accept this truth is what discredits the left."

Perhaps, too, something more is at stake. Many of the most passionate advocates on both sides of this struggle, including Mr. Radosh and Professor Schrecker, were "red diaper" babies, weaned on the left. The debate pits those upholding the honor of their idealistic parents against those who believe their honor requires them to expose the deceptions on which they were raised.

William F. Buckley Jr., whose new novel on McCarthy is due out next summer, said many Americans looking back on the espionage dismiss its significance because there is so little threat from Moscow today that to them it is hard to remember how serious the peril was.

"The notion of stealing secrets is seen today as a kind of misjudgment, a form of eccentric behavior," said Mr. Buckley, who was an early friend and defender of McCarthy.

How much damage was done is a matter of some contention. No one suggests that a Communist coup was afoot or that the nation was in existential danger. But the Soviets did build the bomb a year or two earlier than they would have — no small feat — and it is not hard to imagine other damage that might have resulted from unchecked spying.

### Color Them Red

Harvey Klehr, a historian at Emory University and co-author of a new book "The Soviet World of American

Communism" (Yale University Press), has pointed out that if Franklin D. Roosevelt had died in his third term, Vice President Henry Wallace would have become President. Wallace had once said that as President he would make Laurence Duggan his Secretary of State and Harry Dexter White his Treasury Secretary. Evidence in the Venona messages suggests that both were Soviet agents, Professor Klehr said.

That is why people like Mr. Buckley argue that McCarthy has been maligned by history. "McCarthy's excesses have to be taken in the context of other work he did," Mr. Buckley said. "For example, his concentration on security loyalty practices was absolutely correct."

Timothy Naftali, a senior fellow at the Miller Center of the University of Virginia, said McCarthy gave anti-Communism a bad name, but that a fair examination of Communist activity during and after World War II would show that anti-Communist paranoia was understandable.

"The F.B.I. and military officials had lists of hundreds of unidentified code names that appeared in Soviet intelligence traffic and had every reason to believe that many of those names belonged to agents still operating," he said. "Many of the code names have yet to be identified."

The Soviets became aware of American interceptions by the end of the 1940's — thanks to Kim Philby, then a Washington-based double agent of British intelligence — and shut down their operation just as McCarthy was coming on the scene and American counter-intelligence was swinging into action. By the time McCarthy was hunting Communists, most of the agents were gone.

As the century draws to a close, Communism and Nazism are being increasingly grouped as 20th-century paradigms of totalitarian horror. But once the Soviets were seen for what they were, were those who insisted on waiting for "true" Communism fools? Or knaves?

It was Hitler who said people prefer a big lie to a small truth, and the proponents of Soviet Communism certainly understood that. It was the very depth of their betrayal that made it so hard for American Communists to grasp the deception.

"When we realized that what we thought was heaven really was hell, we fell into silence," said Robert Schrank, a former Communist and union leader who has just published a memoir titled, "Wasn't That a Time? Growing Up Radical and Red in America" (M.I.T. Press). "We were overwhelmed with shame."

That explains, in part, the uncivil nature of today's dialogue and why it will likely be some time before a full accounting can be offered.

"As these first documents come out, we are having a debate," said Mr. Brent of Yale University Press. "But it is a slow historical process, something involving our national consciousness, and I think it will be at least five to 10 years before a historian arises who can really put this all in perspective."



ECONOMY

# Muscleman or Weakling? Measuring U.S. Economy

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

AS America awakened from a recession in 1991, the economy had a lot of work to do.

A real estate collapse had left banks in terrible shape. Companies had stopped hiring. The Federal budget deficit had once again started to swell. Incomes had stopped rising for most Americans. Wage inequality had become a national sore. Health insurance was protecting fewer people. Layoffs were spreading to white-collar workers. And as the preliminaries got under way for the 1992 Presidential election, Republicans and Democrats alike promised rapid economic growth that would lift all boats and, in doing so, sweep away these problems.

America got its expansion, all right — one that has now lasted eight years and brought good times to many. But with the global financial crisis spawning talk of the next recession, much of what an expansion is supposed to achieve remains undone. For all the dazzling gains in the stock market, for all the money showered on Americans — rich Americans in particular — the report card on this expansion would make a parent wince.

Late in the expansion, in 1996, the economy surged, and it is just now simmering down. But despite the surge, economic growth measured over the entire cycle makes the expansion of the 1990's the weakest since World War II. Economies can expand rapidly only when workers produce significantly more in a given hour of work than they have in the past. And that did not happen in the 90's, any more than it had in the 80's.

The result is painfully obvious in many households. While wealthier families enjoyed big gains, particularly from the booming stock market, most households find that their incomes, adjusted for inflation, are no higher today than they were in 1989, when the last expansion ended. Americans, for the most part, have been running in place for 25 years. And as economies around the world weaken, Americans are unlikely to gain ground soon.

"This has been a long and smooth and untroubled business-cycle upswing," said Robert M. Solow, a Nobel laureate in economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "But it has not overcome the long-run sluggishness of the economy. That depends on deeper things, like technological progress and gains in efficiency. And finding the secret of those is a job that certainly was not accomplished in the 1990's."

The 1990's expansion, more than others in the recent past, has been market-driven, with Government playing a lesser role. And some economists contend that the growth surge in 1996 and 1997 was evidence of the power of markets, when they are left alone. Yet even some conservative, market-oriented economists, like Robert Lucas, the Nobel laureate at the University of Chicago, argue that the performance of the 90's economy demonstrates that government action must complement market forces.

"We are living through a period of sustained economic growth without inflation, and the unemployment rate has come down to levels I never thought I would see again in the United States," Mr. Lucas said. "But there are obviously plenty of problems. Poverty and income inequality are two. These are problems that cannot be addressed by the markets. They have to be addressed by specific government programs offering specific solutions."

THERE have been gains, of course. The banks — if suddenly squeamish about lending — are certainly healthy again, thanks largely to Government policies, particularly at the Federal Reserve, intended to help them rebuild.

Hiring has come back, quite robustly, starting in 1993. The unemployment and inflation rates, in fact, have fallen farther than anyone anticipated, and that has helped to reduce the percentage of Americans living in poverty roughly to where it was when the last recession began, in the summer of 1990. A sharp decline in poverty among blacks helped to pull down the overall rate.

"Even for unskilled people coming

off welfare, getting a job has been relatively easy," said David T. Ellwood, an economist at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. "What they have had to worry about is benefits and salary level."

The stronger job market has encouraged education, making young people, in particular, more skilled and competitive, although the gains have been gradual. Thirty-five percent of all 18-to-24-year-olds are taking college courses, up from 30 percent in 1989.

Another hallmark of the 1990's has been capital spending. Companies have used their robust profits and their increasingly valuable stock to buy equipment, particularly computers, and to build factories, stores, malls, hotels and offices.

All this has increased the nation's productive capacity — so much so that corporate America is producing and offering for sale today much more than even avid consumers want to buy.

That, along with a flood of inexpensive imports, has produced another feature of this expansion: Buyers have been able to insist on discounts, thereby holding down inflation and increasing the purchasing power of a raise, even a small raise.

Consumer spending has clearly grown. Indeed, as the Federal budget deficit has turned into a surplus, private indebtedness, particularly for consumers, has risen to record levels, giving the economy the sort of boost that Government deficits did in the 1980's.

But that debt accumulation has come at a cost. By one estimate, 5 percent of all the nation's households have filed for bankruptcy protection in the last five years.

If the economy goes into a downturn, is it safer to have the Government running up debt, or the citizenry? After all, the Government, in a pinch, can print money or borrow more to meet its obligations, while the citizenry is not nearly so flexible.

If layoffs or shrinking stock portfolios or falling home prices were to leave consumers without the means to pay their loans, the defaults and bankruptcies could weigh at least as heavily on the economy as the shock

from a collapsing hedge fund.

While the job market is strong, layoffs are nevertheless running ahead of 1980's levels. Many jobs lack company-subsidized health insurance — 18.3 percent of the nonelderly are without coverage, up from 16.1 percent in 1990. But the robust hiring and the declining unemployment rate had an unexpected payoff.

Fearful of inflation, the Federal Reserve in the past had often cut off an expansion prematurely or watered it down by raising interest rates to discourage business activity. The signal for doing this was the unemployment rate. When it fell below 5.5 percent, the Fed worried that labor shortages would force employers to offer higher wages to get enough workers. Companies would then pay for the wage increases by raising their prices. And up would go the inflation rate.

That dynamic, enshrined in economic theory, is clearly fallible. The unemployment rate is down to 4.8 percent, and the Consumer Price Index, instead of rising, has fallen below 2 percent. Clearly the old worries about low unemployment were not on the minds of Fed policy makers when they cut interest rates on Thursday, the second cut in 16 days. Staving off the recession that is spreading across the globe — and quelling the panic that has begun to curtail lending, investment and spending — seemed much more to the point.

Summing up the new thinking, Janet Yellen, chairman of President Clinton's Council of Economic Advisers and a former Fed governor, said: "As long as production facilities are not overly strained, which they aren't today, then it may be possible to have tighter labor markets than we used to think possible without pushing up the inflation rate."

The most prosperous decade in American history, the 1960's, featured similarly low inflation and unemployment. Citing this comparison, more than a few experts have proclaimed a historic breakthrough in the 1990's. This expansion, they said, heralded a new era of great prosperity — a victory for the American model of free-market capitalism in

which income would be spread, in time, more evenly than it has been in recent years, and more generously.

That is still a popular view in some quarters.

"This is the most extraordinary domestic economic expansion in modern history," said Jerry Jasnowski, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, "in terms of economic growth, inflation, jobs and income, although the income may be less than the others."

But for all the optimism, the new era has not arrived. The main measure of any economic expansion is economic growth, which is the rising value of all of the nation's production of cars, appliances, new homes, Broadway musicals, legal advice, long-distance telephone service and the like, added together. By that measure, the 1990's have not measured up.

The 1960's certainly did. Economic growth in that decade averaged 4.7 percent a year, almost double the performance in the 1990's. Indeed, for a century from the Gilded Age until 1973, the economy expanded at a 3 percent annual rate, or more, most of the time. And then, in the early 1970's, the United States tumbled into a rut of tepid economic growth, which still prevails. The pie, in effect, has grown more slowly than in the past, and the 1990's expansion has failed to break this pattern.

The reason is productivity: whether workers are producing significantly more in a given hour on the job this year than they did last year. If so, and if that improvement is multiplied across the work force, then the economy as a whole expands more rapidly. The telephone operator who handles 100 calls an hour in a given year answers 103 the next year and 106 the next; the factory worker similarly stamps out more car hoods, and so on.

Productivity typically expanded better than 2 percent a year before 1973. But in the current expansion, productivity growth has averaged only 1.3 percent a year, despite better performances in a few industries, up only slightly from the 1.1 percent average in the 1980's.

"The difference is not something you would want to make anything out of," said Edwin Dean, chief of the division that compiles productivity statistics at the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics. "You are not positive the difference is real rather than a measurement error."

Next month, the 1990's expansion becomes the second-longest since World War II, surpassing that of the 1980's. And early next year, if a recession does not intervene, the expansion will become the longest since the war, finally beating out, in longevity, the great 1960's expansion.

BUT longevity is not enough. Despite the late burst of growth, the annual growth rate over the entire 90's business cycle — from the end of the last expansion through

this year's second quarter — has averaged only 2.5 percent, the weakest performance since World War II.

The significance of that figure is that without sufficient economic growth, household incomes cannot increase. And indeed, since 1973, the income gains in periods of expansion for the so-called median household (half of all households earn less, half earn more) have barely offset the losses during recessions. Adjusted for inflation, individual wages and household incomes typically fall in recessions and rebound in the expansions. But while the losses were small and the rebounds robust before 1973, the opposite pattern has prevailed since then, and net gains have been hard to detect.

The 1990's cycle is clearly not an exception. After adjustment for inflation, the median household's annual income, \$37,005 in 1997, is roughly where it was in 1989, the final year of the last expansion, the Census Bureau reported last month.

What's more, the 1997 level was only \$1,260 above 1973's income of \$35,745. Many households in the 1990's added more to their incomes in a single year than their counterparts today have added in 25 years. And they did it with one wage earner, not two or three, working fewer hours than the average jobholder does today.

Such changes hurt. Even in good times, the long working hours strain family life. If a recession should hit, layoffs and wage freezes could rattle families that have gone deeply into debt in the 90's to maintain their spending patterns.

"As the tide recedes, we are likely to find a lot of the old problems that we had before, only more so," said Robert B. Reich, the former Labor Secretary in the Clinton Administration and now a professor at Brandeis University.

A HUGE problem left unresolved as the expansion appears to wind down is a divisive inequality that has developed among income groups, a trend that took root in the 1980's and that the 1990's expansion has failed to interrupt. Pay for low-income workers, or people earning less than \$7 an hour, has increased smartly in this recovery, pushed up partly by a higher minimum wage and the earned-income tax credit, which is, in effect, a Federal wage subsidy.

But the gains among high-end jobholders have been even greater, widening the inequality. And workers in the middle, earning \$9.75 to \$15.50 an hour, lost ground, after adjusting their pay for inflation.

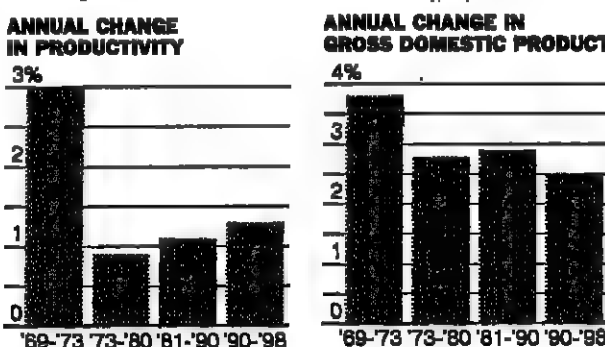
For Mr. Lucas, the University of Chicago economist, economic growth is not capable of resolving such problems, even if the 1990's expansion survives the global crisis, with help from the Federal Reserve or with some other economic stimulant. Government ingenuity is called for, he said, adding, "You cannot ask too much from economic growth."

## How Muscular An Expansion?

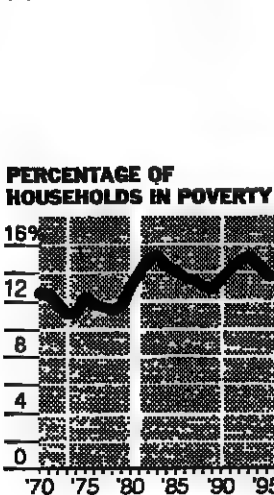
The stock market boomed, the deficit shrank and both unemployment and inflation sank to unexpectedly low levels. But the expansion of the 90's has not broken the American economy out of its slow-growth rut.

Shading in charts indicates business cycles, from the start of one recession to the start of the next, or through the latest data available. Data for 1998 are through the second quarter.

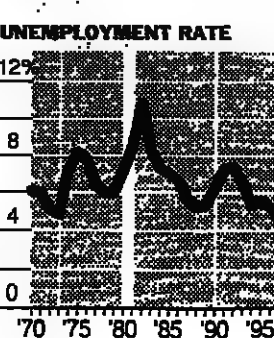
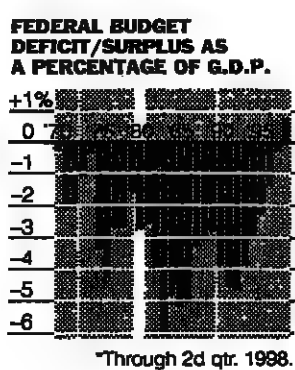
**GROWTH** Compared with performance in past expansions, both productivity gains and economic growth have been tepid.



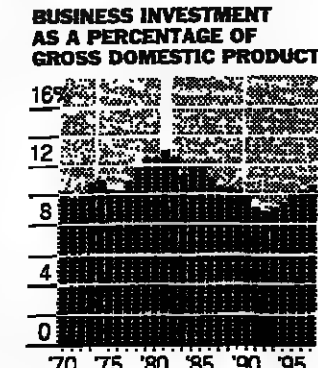
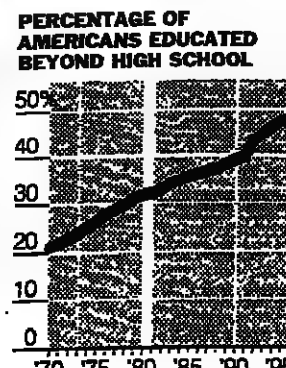
**HOUSEHOLD FINANCES** People have worked harder just to restore household incomes and poverty rates to the levels before the last recession.



**SOURCES OF STABILITY** The Federal budget was balanced. And unemployment was reduced significantly, without spurring inflation.



**INVESTMENT** With an eye on the future, Americans invested in themselves, adding to the stock of workers with post-secondary schooling. Business invested heavily, too, though not as much as in earlier expansions.



Sources: Census Bureau; Bureau of Labor Statistics; Bureau of Economic Analysis; Standard & Poor's DRI; Haver Analytics

## Asian Is Cheaper

By ALLEN R. MYERSON

ASIAN stocks, bonds and real estate are not all that have been marked down for immediate clearance. From Hyundai's humble econoboxes to Honolulu's choicest penthouses, merchandise made, owned or offered by Asians is also priced to sell.

Just as big-time American corporations and financiers are swooping down on Asian owners desperate to sell their factories or companies, American consumers can practice some vintage investing of their own.

Asia's reversals have made it cheaper for Americans to putter around in imported cars, especially those from South Korea. On average, the prices for 1999 Hyundai Motor models will be 4.8 percent below 1998's. The 1999 Elantra, a Hyundai compact made in Korea, will cost \$11,499 when it goes on sale next month. Though the new model has a better engine and warranty, an otherwise similarly equipped 1998 model costs \$12,493. The company attributes the gap to South Korea's weak currency and economy.

The costs of Asian tourism have also come back down to earth, and then some. At the historic Savoy Hotel in Bandung on Java, suites named for distinguished guests including Nehru of India, Nasser of Egypt and Indonesia's own Sukarno can be had for \$65 a night (or less depending on whom you ask), compared with \$149 about a year ago.

Down in Australia, the currency has also taken such a beating that a Great Barrier Reef cruise, including afternoon tea, snorkel gear and a presentation by a marine biologist, is \$76 today, from \$105 last year. A ticket to the landmark Sydney Opera House, \$48 then, is now \$35.

Air fares and tours to Asia and Australia have likewise been discounted. Cathay Pacific's All-Asia passes allow a month of travel from Los Angeles, San Francisco or New York through Hong Kong to 17 other Asian cities for \$399, hundreds of

ard fares had been to many destinations. A five-night Hong Kong tour from Japan Orient, based in San Diego, is \$900 to \$1,100, compared with \$1,300 to \$1,600 last year.

NOW might also be the time to buy that Oriental vase, painting or scroll. A fairly standard blue and white porcelain bottle decorated with a dragon dating from Korea's Choson Dynasty in the mid-19th century sold for \$20,000 or more a year or two ago, said Sebastian Izard, a Manhattan dealer. Now, he said, it would fetch no more than \$5,000.

All but the best Japanese lacquerware, ceramics and paintings are off by half from the 1990 peak, a Christie's specialist said.

If classic Asian art is still unaffordable even at bargain prices, discounts on electronics may be the ticket. Department store prices for televisions and radios from Asia are down 5.7 percent for the year ended June, according to Ira Silver, chief economist for J. C. Penney. May Department Stores, whose chains include Filene's and Lord & Taylor, reports savings of as much as \$10 on some shirts, sweaters and jackets.

Even the most basic commodities are on sale. Energy prices, for oil most of all, have fallen primarily because of reduced Asian demand. Money, as in other people's, has also become cheap, whether for home mortgages or other purposes. Slow growth abroad, and efforts by Japan and other nations to revive their economies by lowering interest rates, have helped lower the rates in the United States.

But as the saying goes, prices this good might not last. The discount sale on the yen abruptly ended early this month, as that currency soared against the dollar. It remains unclear how or when the yen's appreciation will increase the cost of some goods in the United States. As compensation, however, economic reversals that are spreading to Latin America appear likely to lower the cost of other goods, including clothing and fresh produce.



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## The Microsoft Trial Begins

When the Justice Department filed its antitrust suit against Microsoft last May, both sides were hoping for a quick resolution. But with the trial set to begin tomorrow, those hopes are gone. The case against Microsoft has broadened in scope, encompassing new charges of predatory conduct against big-name rivals. If these allegations are proved, the courts may well be asked to consider drastic remedies, including increased regulation or even a breakup of Microsoft. Many experts worry that such steps could stifle innovation and enterprise in the nation's most dynamic business sector.

The Justice Department, and 20 attorneys general joining the suit, were right to worry about Microsoft using its monopoly status to coerce other companies. It is not in the public interest for any one company to have an Internet chokehold. But it is also right for Justice to have to prove its case in court. No matter who wins the arguments in the next couple months, no one doubts that the case will end up in the United States Supreme Court.

From the beginning, the core of the case against Microsoft has been that the company used illegal tactics to try to muscle Netscape, the maker of a Web browser that is the main rival to Microsoft's, out of the market. The focus originally was on Microsoft's decision to combine its own Internet Explorer browser with its basic Windows software, forcing anyone who used Windows to take the browser. The expanded suit argues that Microsoft also used strong-arm tactics against such other giants as Intel, Apple, IBM, and America Online to force them to use Microsoft products. These tactics, the Government charges, were based on a fear at Microsoft that Netscape's Navigator browser and Sun Microsystems's Java programming language might some day supplant Microsoft's dominance with its Windows operating system.

The fireworks in the trial will come in two ways. First, the Government plans to call witnesses from affected companies, some of whom will be reluctant to testify against Microsoft. Nevertheless, the Government thinks it can get them to make their complaints about Microsoft public. Second, there will be plenty of parsing of interoffice E-mails and other exchanges that the Government claims show that Microsoft was eager to kill off Netscape. In response, Microsoft will argue that such talk should be dismissed as locker-room bravado, not an actual business strategy.

Microsoft's main argument is that incorporating its browser into Windows was designed to improve the basic product. In June, in fact, a Federal appeals court accepted Microsoft's argument that it has the right to incorporate any software into its system if doing so offers advantages to consumers. But the court based its ruling on an earlier consent decree, not on broad antitrust law. The Government has assembled persuasive evidence that Microsoft's tactics violated prohibitions against using monopoly power in one area to crush the competition in others.

No one claims this has been an easy time for Microsoft. Besides the antitrust suit, the company faces strong business competition and a global recession that could restrict its phenomenal growth. But as Microsoft looks to expand its reach into Internet commerce, business software and software for consumer products like cars and telephones, it is critical to insure unfettered competition. In weighing the evidence, the courts and the public should recognize that the Justice Department is not trying to punish one company for its success but to guarantee that success will be possible for future innovators as well.

## A Nobel for Peace-in-Progress

John Hume, a moderate Catholic politician from Northern Ireland, has been working for peace there for three decades. David Trimble, the pro-British Protestant who is now First Minister of Northern Ireland, is a more recent convert. Together they helped mold the Good Friday Agreement that has brought the beginning of reconciliation to Northern Ireland, and together they were justly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on Friday. But peace is by no means assured, and Mr. Trimble is right to hope the prize is not premature.

The Nobel committee pointedly and wrongly omitted Gerry Adams, perhaps because of his tolerance for terrorism over the years. But he had the courage and vision to turn Sinn Féin and the Irish Republican Army away from violence, making the peace deal possible. A host of others contributed to the accords, including Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain; the British Government's Northern Ireland Secretary, Mo Mowlam; Prime Minister Bertie Ahern of Ireland; President Clinton; and former Senator George Mitchell, who led the negotiations.

The reason for Mr. Trimble's caution was evident the other day when he and his deputy, Seamus Mallon, who is a Catholic and a member of Mr. Hume's party, visited this newspaper. When the talk turned to politics, the atmosphere suddenly turned chilly as Mr. Trimble and Mr. Mallon skirmished over issues that are crucial to

the functioning of the region's new institutions.

The most important dispute is over how to deal with the I.R.A.'s refusal to give up its weapons. Mr. Trimble has said he wants to delay naming his cabinet — which would likely include Mr. Adams — until the I.R.A. begins to destroy the weapons or to turn them over to authorities. The peace agreement commits all the parties to total disarmament, and to using all their influence to achieve it. But it does not state that this must begin before anything else. The I.R.A., however, has the obligation to begin. All other parties should encourage it, by turning over their own weapons and implementing measures that end Northern Ireland's traditional discrimination against Catholics.

There is reason for hope. Sinn Féin appointed Martin McGuinness, its chief negotiator at the peace table, to new talks about disarmament, a sign of seriousness. Mr. Trimble, who would not speak directly to Mr. Adams during the negotiations, has now met with him three times, alone.

It takes nothing from the achievements of Northern Ireland's leaders to note that they will continue to disagree as they tackle the unglamorous tasks of making the Assembly work, setting up cross-border political bodies and reforming the police and bureaucracy. "There's so much work to be done and it's so mundane," Mr. Adams warned last week. But that is how peace is built.

## If Money Is All, Then Something's Wrong

To the Editor:

"When Money Is Everything, Except Hers" (front page, Oct. 14) illustrates more than anything else the corrosive materialism that we as a society impose upon our youth. You sprinkled your article with log-cabin myths, referring to the poor boy Dutch Reagan, who also came from Dixon, Ill., and went on to win the cold war. It is easy to take that tangent and hope that the nice kid with the cute cat on her back has more potential for greatness than those who treat her with contempt. I perceive that Wendy is a girl of modest means from a seemingly nice, safe town who is at risk at least in part because of our vacuous marketing of things we do not need and because of the contempt of those unable to appreciate their own material comfort.

MAURY B. JOSEPHSON  
Merrick, N.Y., Oct. 14, 1998

That they wear fine feathers and take fancy vacations signifies nothing about them other than an accident of birth. The problem is not how to increase Wendy's self-esteem; it is how to live with integrity in a world permeated with mercenary values.

EILEEN POLLOCK  
New York, Oct. 14, 1998

### Admiration, Not Pity

To the Editor:

If Wendy Williams (front page, Oct. 14) is as cheery and bright as her teachers say, there is nothing pitiable about her.

What is pitiable — and inevitable — is the turning of our historically money-crazed culture into today's grotesquerie, largely created by an unrelenting and nihilistic marketing and media technology.

The virtues ascribed to Ms. Williams will surely endure beyond such a society.

MURRAY F. NIMMO  
Washington, Oct. 14, 1998

### Being Different Hurts

To the Editor:

Young people, even in Dixon, Ill., may be "increasingly enchanted with buying, having, spending and status," as your article notes (front page, Oct. 14).

But even that marketing-spurred enchantment cannot explain the cruelty of peers like the boy you describe who demanded a poor girl's seat on the school bus with the words, "Move it, trailer girl."

That kind of cruelty, aimed more and more at those perceived as different, is either fostered or goes unmentioned in homes, schools and houses of worship.

As we in our small congregation in Brooklyn begin another year of children's education, we are, above all, teaching the value of respect for one another, for teachers and for those whom many of us may see as different.

(Rabbi) ELLEN LIPPMANN  
Brooklyn, Oct. 14, 1998

### Slogans Won't Help

To the Editor:

Re "When Money Is Everything, Except Hers" (front page, Oct. 14): It is a pervasive myth of our times that positive beliefs, taught by catchy sloganeering, increase self-esteem. But self-esteem flows naturally from actual accomplishment.

Wendy Williams's counselor, who advised her to keep repeating "no one can make you feel inferior without your consent," should have told her that the children in her school were given everything they own by their parents.

### Nobel Put Focus On Population, Too

To the Editor:

Re your Oct. 15 Topics item "Nobel Oblige" commending the Nobel economics committee for its selection of Amartya Sen as the recipient of this year's prize:

It is said that economists know the price of everything and the value of nothing. Professor Sen's economics is rooted in ethics and true values. One important area of his achievement was his work in population studies.

Before the United Nations population conference in Cairo in 1994, Professor Sen wrote "Population: Delusion and Reality."

The thrust of the essay, which was influential in Cairo, was that there was still time to deal with the rapid rise in world population, but that we should not be complacent.

For some time Professor Sen has been associated with the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies.

The center trains many of the future health and population leaders in developing countries, where 90 percent of the world's population growth is occurring.

GORDON DOUGLAS  
Pawling, N.Y., Oct. 15, 1998

### Is Something Missing?

To the Editor:

Maybe I am missing something here, but your Oct. 14 photograph of Wendy Williams shows a happy, well-fed and decently clothed young woman and her pet, while in the background her trailer-park neighborhood looks clean, neat and safe.



Lauren Shapiro

She obviously has parents who love her a lot and care for her very well. I thought that we had all agreed a long time ago that the important things in life were the things that money cannot buy.

Now we are supposed to feel sorry for children who cannot keep up with the Joneses?

### Bias Law Would Amount to Piece of Paper

To the Editor:

Re "Murder of a Gay Man: It Can't Happen Here?" (letters, Oct. 15):

If a hate-crimes law had been on the books in Wyoming, would Matthew Shepard be alive today?

If a charge of first-degree murder and the threat of the death penalty did not dissuade Mr. Shepard's attackers from their crime, would a piece of legislation labeling them as hatemongers do the job?

If Mr. Shepard had been a white heterosexual man killed by two other white heterosexual men, would the crime still be a brutal, hate-inspired murder?

We need to answer these questions before we let a wave of emotion push us to pass a virtually useless law.

CHUCK CAMPBELL  
George West, Tex., Oct. 15, 1998

### State Law Isn't Enough

To the Editor:

Contrary to James B. Jacobs ("New Laws Won't Stop Hate," Op-Ed, Oct. 14), the hate-crimes legislation being debated in Congress — the proposed Hate Crimes Prevention Act — would fundamentally alter the way crimes of violence motivated by bias are dealt with.

Under current law, Federal prosecutors cannot address bias crimes based on gender, sexual orientation

and disability even when state law enforcement officials are unable or unwilling to prosecute.

In numerous cases of violence against women, serious violence, injury or death might have been prevented except for the negligence, inaction, bias or complicity of police departments and prosecutors.

The fears that Federal authority would overwhelm Federal prosecutorial resources are unfounded: Under current law, there were only 37 Federal hate-crime prosecutions from 1990 to 1996, fewer than 6 per year out of the more than 10,000 hate crimes reported nationwide.

The legislation under consideration in Congress will increase this figure only modestly.

The United States has rejected bias crimes that are perpetrated because of an individual's faith or ethnicity; crimes of bias against an individual's real or perceived sexual orientation, gender or disability should be held to the same accountability. The murder of Matthew Shepard, the gay University of Wyoming student, makes this clear.

JULIE GOLDSCHIED  
New York, Oct. 15, 1998

The writer is senior staff attorney of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund.

### Will Our Bluff Be Called in Kosovo?

To the Editor:

The Kosovo crisis is meant to be resolved peacefully by verification of the Milosevic-NATO pact by 2,000 monitors, plus reconnaissance aircraft (front page, Oct. 16). However, the experience with verifying the Dayton pact shows that NATO has been content to tolerate verified violations as long as there is no killing.

What will NATO decide if there is evidence that humanitarian relief agencies cannot provide aid, or serious autonomy negotiations with the Kosovars are not permitted to go

forward, the requirements enunciated by President Clinton?

Past experience suggests that nothing will happen. Sooner or later, as in Bosnia, our bluff will be called to no effect.

HENRY F. CAREY  
Atlanta, Oct. 16, 1998

The writer is an assistant professor of political science at Georgia State University.

### Ask More of Milosevic

To the Editor:

"Peace and reconciliation are not coming to Kosovo," begins an Oct. 14 editorial. How brutally true.

After NATO finally approved air strikes against Serbian army installations and thereby forced Slobodan Milosevic to negotiate, Richard Holbrooke, the American envoy, let him off the hook. Not only should Mr. Holbrooke have demanded that Mr. Milosevic restore Kosovo's provincial autonomy, which he unilaterally withdrew in 1989, but he should also have extracted a promise to rebuild all destroyed or damaged villages and compensate the Kosovars for all losses. For good measure, he could have demanded that Mr. Milosevic extradite two indicted war criminals, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic.

MARK N. MALEC

Editorial Observer/GAIL COLLINS

## My Honorable Opponent, the Ax Murderer . . .

Back in 1828, when President John Quincy Adams was running for reelection, supporters of Andrew Jackson felt compelled to find some way to undermine the incumbent's reputation as a terrific diplomat. They settled on spreading a story that Adams, who had served as Ambassador to Russia, had gotten on the czar's good side by offering up his children's nanny as a royal mistress. It was not a very convincing story — anyone who looks at Adams's portrait will instantly perceive that this was no good-time Charlie. But the President was called "the Pimp of the Coalition" throughout the campaign, and when Jackson won, he made the editor who invented the slander part of his kitchen cabinet.

The moral of this story is that there are negative campaigns and then there are really, really negative campaigns. This year's Senate race in New York strikes some voters as pretty deep in the mud. Representative Charles Schumer has been calling Senator Alfonse D'Amato a liar on every channel in the state, and Mr. D'Amato has been telling upstate voters that Mr. Schumer cares more about Mongolia than he does about them. This weekend Mr. Schumer unleashed a new ad called "Mother" in which the narrator

### The going gets tough and the tough get insulting.

opposes abortion rights even in cases of rape and incest, even if the mother would die."

But on a scale of 1 to 10, this one hardly registers a 6. (A 10 would be the effort in 1856 to depict the Republican Presidential candidate as a cannibal.) The defining adjective for the D'Amato-Schumer battle is actually not "negative" but "close."

Most polls show Mr. D'Amato and Mr. Schumer running neck-and-neck, a condition that tends to bring out the vicious streak in any candidate. Close and mean is better than a gentlemanly runaway any day. Gov. George Pataki is miles ahead in the polls, and his ads are so sunny they might be mistaken for margarita commercials. His campaign consultants spent years training to be political Road Warriors, and now they're stuck doing Walt Disney, rolling out one production after another in which Mr. Pataki appears surrounded by children and scenic vistas. If his lead gets any wider, he will ap-

his feet and the Bluebird of Happiness circling overhead.

The D'Amato-Schumer contest, meanwhile, is a sort of Steel Cage Match of politics, in which the last guy standing wins. Mr. Schumer's "too many lies" campaign was fairly effective — Mr. D'Amato's gray ethical aura is his weakest spot. But the lying the ad referred to was actually just Mr. D'Amato's habit of fluffing up his own reputation and calling his opponents "liberal." The hyper-cynical voting public expects "lie" to mean something like concealing a criminal record or a couple of surplus wives.

After casting about from one insult to another — "liberal" didn't work, "from Brooklyn" was only so-so — Mr. D'Amato fell back on the classic ploy of adding up Mr. Schumer's missed votes. As in the Andrew Jackson campaign, Mr. D'Amato's strategists wanted to undermine their opponent's proudest boast, and Mr. Schumer is running on his reputation as an effective legislator. The attack was trivial — you can skip quite a lot in Washington without missing anything. But it was fair. Mr. Schumer missed the votes, and he has to accept the consequences.

None of this stuff would get a mention in the annals of low moments in

very high this year, when one Illinois gubernatorial candidate is basically calling another a murderer, and in South Carolina, Senator Ernest Hollings just had to apologize for saying his opponent was "a [expletive deleted] skunk." But with just two weeks to go until the election, New Yorkers deserve something substantial, even if it is delivered in the rhetorical equivalent of a screech. Mr. Schumer's new ads, while tough, hit an important issue, since polls show most voters do not know that Mr. D'Amato is a staunch opponent of abortion. But the life-of-the-mother element is a bit of a stretch — it is based mainly on Mr. D'Amato's 1983 vote for a constitutional amendment that would put the abortion issue back under the control of the states.

Mr. D'Amato's office did not return calls about the content of his upcoming ads. (The Senator has been avoiding me ever since the 1980 campaign, when I asked him to name the last five books he had read.) But we are eagerly awaiting the next volley. It has been a long time since New York has hosted an election in which we did not know the name of the winner weeks before the first absentee ballot hit the mails. It is worth hearing a lot of nasty commercials to get a contest in which everyone can imagine that

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## Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

## It Was Ever Thus

WASHINGTON  
Best news of the week: Soccer moms may be history. The election of 1998 may be decided by waitress moms.

Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster, says the most sought after voters this year are working women under 35 who never went to college and have children at home. They used to be Democratic voters, but the Clinton sex scandal has alienated them and left them up for grabs.

CNN interviewed a bunch of Fios at a Baltimore diner. And it gave me a nice safe feeling to know that the fate of America is in the sensible hands of gals who smoke and call customers "Hon."

Zaniest news of the week: The New York Post reported that Saddam Hussein, as part of his "essential medical supplies" package, has asked the U.N. to send him a liposuction machine. (A U.N. official confirmed the story, observing that the Iraqis did have a problem with obesity before the war.) Saddam also ordered \$209,000 worth of teeth-whitening equipment. There was an unconfirmed report that the Iraqis' humanitarian wish list also included silicone breast implants. Their cosmetic requests are on hold. There is always the danger that the technology of liposuction could be used to make long-range missiles. And silicone has been known to be useful in the manufacture of projectiles.

Spookiest news of the week: Lucianne Goldberg, the Clinton operator's own literary agent, put a message on the Internet urging anyone who can still muster a shred of interest in this stupid scandal to come to a citizens' rally in Washington on Halloween. This summit of Clinton-bashers, which Ms. Goldberg is calling the National March for Justice, will take place in Lafayette Park, across from the White House. Speakers will include the former F.B.I. agent Gary Aldrich, the psychologist Paul Fick, author of "The Dysfunctional President," and Larry Klayman of Judicial Watch. Ms. Goldberg may be trying to balance out the march proposed by "Beloved" author Toni Morrison, who wants Clinton defenders to rally in defense of the man she calls "our first black President."

All this, of course, underscores the need for more waitresses and fewer literary lionesses involved in politics.

Most Dada news of the week: HBO

## Stoning the Founding Fathers.

Is talking to Oliver Stone about developing a mini-series on the Founding Fathers, their "trials and tribulations." When the maker of "JFK" and "Nixon" is done demystifying and demythologizing the Fathers of our country, Bill Clinton will look like Solon.

HBO's bright idea provides an unprecedented opportunity for paranoia to go backward in time. It isn't hard to imagine what the fearless and independent mind of Mr. Stone will discover.

Thomas Jefferson's dirty secret was not that he had an affair with a black woman. It was that he was a black woman.

It wasn't Aaron Burr who was responsible for the shooting of Alexander Hamilton. It was Lyndon Johnson.

One of the authors of the Federalist Papers — Mr. Stone is not yet prepared to say which one — really was named Publius.

George Washington, who was a natural-born killer, did not destroy the cherry tree with an ax. He destroyed it with Agent Orange.

Benjamin Franklin's kite experiment was secretly subsidized by the military industrial complex. Franklin's discovery of electricity was not inadvertent. Its purpose was to prevent John Kennedy from getting the United States out of Vietnam.

The famous muckraker James T. Callender was a cynical running dog of the media elite who was secretly working for Rupert Murdoch — a fact you would know if you played Fleetwood Mac's "Don't Stop (Thinking About Tomorrow)" backward.

John Adams got George Washington to sign the Jay Treaty with Britain in order to block the rise of Napoleon, which precipitated the French sale of Louisiana, where Clay Shaw hatched the plot to kill Kennedy.

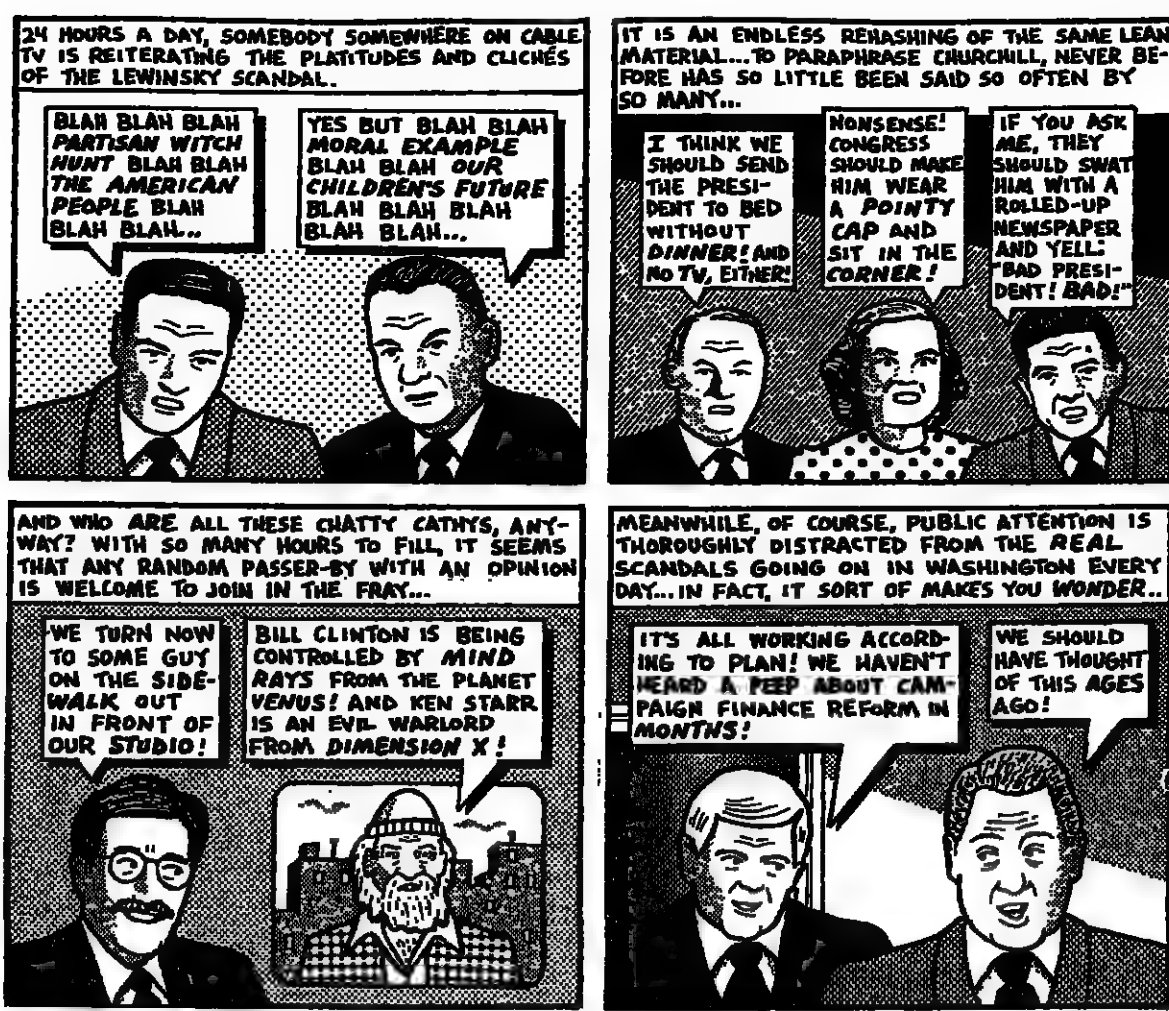
Patrick Henry did not really say, "Give me liberty or give me death." He said: "Liberty, s.f. Death, no." This brought the United States closer to its dream of dominating and plundering Latin America.

It was not tea that was thrown overboard at the Boston Tea Party. It was heroin smuggled in by Mamel Noriega and Samuel Adams. This was a form of eco-terrorism.

Abigail Adams was really Lucianne Goldberg.

## Op-Art

TOM TOMORROW



Tom Tomorrow is the author, most recently, of "Penguin Soup for the Soul."

## The Hate Epidemic

By David Leavitt

When I read the account of Matthew Shepard's murder, the words that I could not forget were those reportedly used by one of his killers after he and a companion had lured Mr. Shepard out of a Laramie, Wyo., tavern and into the pickup truck in which they would drive him to his place of execution: "Guess what? I'm not gay — and you just got jacked."

These words — odors from the abyss, as Forster might have put it — recalled others spoken by the narrator of Eudora Welty's 1963 story "Where Is the Voice Coming From?" which she wrote in a white heat after the assassination of the civil rights leader Medgar Evers. "Now I'm alive and you ain't," Evers's killer tells his dead victim in the story. "We ain't never now, never going to be equals, and you know why? One of us is dead."

Certain commonplaces cannot be restated enough: hatred of gay men in this country is an epidemic as pernicious as AIDS, and as unfathomable. Nor is any gay man untouched by this epidemic.

It haunts not only the drag queen who takes her life in her hands every time she steps onto the street, not only

The crime was in Wyoming, but for gay men, the fear is everywhere.

the middle-aged man who invites a stranger home with whom he has spoken on a phone sex line, not only the isolated college student in Wyoming longing for friendship and trusting in the overtures of moles from the Stasi of hate, but also the forward-thinking, well-adjusted, worldly homosexual man who imagines that in his urban corner of sanity and tolerance, in Greenwich Village or Los Angeles or London, he is somehow immune.

He is not immune — either from hatred or from the fear of hatred, which is in many ways even more destructive. Thus even though Mark Mitchell and I have lived together for almost seven years, even though when we stay at the homes of our enlightened parents we are treated by them no differently than, say, my brother and his wife, even though we share a house, a bed, a car and a bank account, when we walk together in any city we never hold hands — and not because we flinch at "public displays of affection" (as might my brother and his wife, for whom such decisions carry little weight) but because we are afraid of being killed.

No, gay killings are not everyday occurrences, any more than lynchings were ever a daily event in the South, but the fear colors everything — especially in a year when reported

bias crimes against gay people in New York City have increased 81 percent.

Certain commonplaces cannot be restated enough. In the brutal con game to which Matthew Shepard fell prey, what was exploited was nothing less than a young man's trust and hope and eager longing. If not for love, then at least for friendship, for camaraderie.

In this game, kindness can be held out as bait; sex can be used as a lure. The payoff may be death, as it was for Matthew Shepard, or it may be robbery or gay-bashing or merely unkind, ignorant words. But few of us walk away unscathed, if we are lucky enough to walk away at all.

For years AIDS conveniently helped the hate-mongers do their job, by wiping out gay men in appalling numbers. But now, for the first time in more than a decade, AIDS deaths are down, and it seems as if ignorance is stepping in and pick up the slack.

"Shoot a gay or two," a piece of graffiti in Laramie announced several years ago. I have seen — and become inured to — a blunter epithet, one that is found too often on bathroom walls and in university libraries: "Faggots die."

Die: That's really what it's all about, if for no other reason than that it is only when faggots die that their systematic persecution ever gets any attention.

In part this is our own fault. For instance, when I was robbed a few years ago in Paris by a man who invited me to his apartment building for "coffee," I never reported the incident to the police, or even spoke of it, out of shame. Nor, I suspect, would Matthew Shepard have gone to the police had he merely been beaten to a pulp. And if he had, would it have done any good?

Shoot a gay or two. Psychiatrists have long speculated that many killers of gay men are themselves repressed homosexuals, which is why, so often, they murder their victims after sex. For these attackers, the mere fact that another man desires them (not to mention the possibility that others might consider them to be gay) is seen as justification for an act of retaliatory violence.

This may have been what happened to my friend Lou Inturrisi, a journalist and travel writer, whose body was discovered last August on the floor of his apartment in Rome.

His skull had been bashed in; he had not, however, been robbed. His was one of a spate of gay killings in Italy in recent years, only one of which has been solved. In that case, the killer turned out to be a male prostitute.

There are many reasons a gay man would go home with a stranger. Perhaps because the thrill of danger excites him. Perhaps because he is naive. Perhaps because he does not know any better.

## Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks. For further information, call (212) 556-1831.

David Leavitt is the author, most recently, of "The Page Turner," a novel, and is editor with Mark Mitchell of the anthology "Pages Passed From Hand to Hand: The Hidden Tradition of Homosexual Literature in English From 1748 to 1914."

## In America

BOB HERBERT

## Renovating HUD

Quietly in this season of scandal the Clinton Administration has managed a significant advance in the most unlikely of areas: low-income housing.

Three years ago the hard-riding, right-leaning Republican majority in Congress brought a halt to all efforts to bring additional units of affordable housing to poor families. Public housing was in deep trouble and the prevailing political sentiment seemed to be, "Put it out of its misery."

The abolition of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which administers the nation's public housing program, was seriously considered.

This regressive effort went further than anything that had taken place during the Reagan years. It was particularly insidious in that it occurred at a time when the nation's overall supply of affordable housing was shrinking and the overall demand, because of stagnating wages and other economic pressures, had increased dramatically. The number of poor families in deep distress — living in grossly substandard housing, for example, or spending well over 50 percent of their gross incomes on rent — had reached record levels.

Housing advocates spoke in tones of despair.

Now, suddenly, comes passage of a housing measure that bolsters HUD's budget by \$2 billion, that will provide rent subsidies to 90,000 new families, that will begin to mix stable, working families into housing projects that have been overwhelmed by the indigent, and that will begin to desegregate projects that have been racially segregated for decades.

By all accounts, the architect of this turnaround is Andrew Cuomo, who took over as HUD Secretary in January 1997. Mr. Cuomo streamlined the agency and worked hard to salvage one of its most important missions — to provide safe and decent housing to families shut out of the regular housing market.

In the 1970's the number of new families getting rent subsidies from the Government each year was measured in the hundreds of thousands. Ronald Reagan ratcheted that down to the tens of thousands. By the time Mr. Cuomo became HUD Secretary, the number of new families getting subsidies was zero.

So rent subsidies (in the form of housing vouchers) for 90,000 new families are a big deal.

The new policy of "deconcentration" is also a big deal. The idea is to

begin admitting families with working adults and somewhat higher incomes into projects populated almost exclusively by very poor families. The goal is to provide an economic mix and models of behavior that will ward off the social instability that has ruined many public housing projects.

At the same time, Mr. Cuomo, with the support of President Clinton, has insisted that public housing projects begin to desegregate.

"Public housing across the nation is as segregated as private housing," said Mr. Cuomo. "You have black projects and white projects. There are places where you have Asian projects. The President has spoken

## A surprise in this political climate.

about one America. So we are saying that where the Federal Government is the landlord, in our own house, let us end segregation once and for all."

The new legislation, which is about to be signed by the President, requires housing authorities to submit for Mr. Cuomo's approval a plan showing how they will begin deconcentrating and desegregating their housing.

The legislation also will end what Mr. Cuomo called a major and "foolish" disincentive to work. Under existing rules, the amount of rent in public housing can increase as a family's income increases. The new legislation freezes rent for the first two years of a family's increase in income.

What is remarkable about Mr. Cuomo's effort is not the scope of the bill. It's the fact that he was able to secure its passage in the midst of the Lewinsky scandal and at a time when Congress is controlled by conservative forces that have long been hostile to the very idea of public housing.

"The progressive forces stood their ground here," said Mr. Cuomo. "There is a real hunger for intelligent, progressive leadership."

"I give Cuomo a lot of credit," said Robert Greenstein, director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. "He turned out to be a great negotiator. He did a brilliant job."

## A MUST FOR EVERY VISITOR

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Although I haven't read every one of the 816 pages in this ISRAEL Handbook for tourists, travellers and visitors, those that I have read lead me to recommend it as a good book for all concerned.

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## THE ARTS

## Using Farce to Break the Dark Spell of Fascism

By EDWARD ROTHSTEIN

**F**ASCIST humor may be an oxymoron. Fascism, after all, is a serious matter. It submerges the whims and freedoms of the individual to the uniform demands of the state. It treats its authority as natural law and any opposition as mortal sin.

Humor is just the opposite. It thrives on offense, plays on vulnerabilities and absurdities, inverts authority and mocks nature; it is surreptitious, sly, iconoclastic. Humor may be, in its essence, anti-fascist. It takes what is most self-important, most unyielding and most unforgiving, and dissolves it into absurdity. Fascism meets its match in farce.

That is the approach, delicately taken, of the new Italian film "Life is Beautiful," the winner of the grand jury prize at the 1998 Cannes International Film Festival. Its director and co-writer, Roberto Benigni, also stars in the film as an irrepressible Jewish bookseller in the 1940's determined to shield his 5-year-old son Giosuè from the horrors of an extermination camp by pretending that it is all a game being staged for the boy's amusement.

A bit bizarre, perhaps, not to mention risky — turning something so evil into something so trivial. But down to his own jangling skeleton and rubbery snouts, Mr. Benigni's character Guido embodies an inversion of fascist ideals. He is impossibly voluble, a manic fantasist, an acrobat, an ironist. When he poses as a fascist official and has to demonstrate the superiority of the Italian race to a roomful of children, he strips to his underwear, grandly praising the nobility and proportions of his scrawny physique.

Throughout this comic fable, which opens Friday, he undermines natural law (the very heart of fascist rhetoric): a key falls from the sky, a beautiful woman falls into his arms. And, for his son's benefit, he "translates" the threats barked out by a German prison guard into rules of a childhood game: no one is allowed to ask for a snack or cry out for mommy.

These are efforts at a kind of enchantment, attempts to magically undo the fascistic order — a trademark theme in farce about fascism. For doesn't fascism itself seem like a form of hypnotic enchantment, blinding a nation to join in its singular

horrors? This dark secret was caught early, in 1928, by Thomas Mann, in his short story "Mario and the Magician." In an Italian summer resort, a hunchbacked hypnotist lures a woman to slavishly follow him, convinces a working-class man to give him an amorous kiss and demonstrates, in his ominous words, "that there are powers stronger than

Can there be a place for humor in a story of the Holocaust? Roberto Benigni believes so.

reason or virtue, and not always so magnanimously ready to relinquish their prey!"

How can such enchantment be undone? Partly with other spells, some recalling the innocence of childhood. Mr. Benigni's character hypnotically waves his hand and tries to will objects and persons into place — a gesture no more absurd than the triumph of the will being enacted all around him. When the Theatre de Complicité brought its staged version of Bruno Schuler's "Street of Crocodiles" to the Lincoln Center Festival in the summer, the image of the character sorting through books banned by the Nazis gave way to a fantastical universe of childhood memories, a world in which men walked on walls, turned into birds and became infants seeking comfort from impending doom.

Enchantment in a rawer form occurs in the Italian director Lina Wertmüller's "Seven Beauties" (1976). The vain, bumbling hunchback murderer (played by Giancarlo Giannini), who has been imprisoned in a concentration camp, is brought to the private den of the grossly corpulent concentration camp commandant (Shirley Stoler). He sings her praises, declaring his love, hoping it will win him freedom. "Who are you?" he asks. "An enchantress? A magician? Because you have put a spell on me." Sex with her, he secretly hopes, might set him free, but as



Roberto Benigni with Giorgio Cantarini, left, and Nicoletta Braschi in "Life is Beautiful," a prize winner at Cannes.

he stares at her tree-trunk thighs he can barely work the necessary magic.

But humor may be the most powerful of counter-spells. The risk, though, is that in the midst of dissolving fascism in farce, it also dissolves the suffering of its victims. Mr. Benigni, in a recent telephone interview from Italy, named Charlie Chaplin's "Great Dictator" as an important influence. In that 1940 film, characters resembling Mussolini and Hitler get into a petulant food fight; Hynkel (Hitler) has two sidekicks named Garbitsch and Herring, and Hitler's plans for world domination are lampooned in the now-classic ballet with an inflated globe, set to Wagnerian musical strains. Meanwhile the Jews in a ghetto become aware of at least part of Hynkel's great plan: "Get rid of the Jews first, then the brunettes."

But Chaplin also said that if he had known the extent of the German horrors, he would never have made the film. In his heavily accented English, Mr. Benigni acknowledged a similar

concern. "I quote this a lot of times," he said. "I worried about this a lot. Yes, of course. This is my first thought. Nobody can make a gag about Nazis; because humor must be detached, and here it can't be."

Of course, one radical approach, taken by Mel Brooks in "The Producers," is to charge ahead, treating even the anticipated offense as an object of humor. His Broadway impresario (Zero Mostel) yearns to offend his opening night audience, hoping for a theatrical flop. He courts tastelessness: he will turn Nazism into campy farce. But when the musical becomes a comic hit, crowned by the big production number, "Springtime for Hitler," it is not just fascism that is dissolved into farce but solemn pieties about fascism.

Mr. Benigni obviously did not want to go so far. But his character is also detached from both his surroundings and the intimations of fascist dominance in his town of Arezzo. At first he is unaffected by the disturbing signs, and later he is intent on seem-

ing to be in order to protect his son. He is almost nonchalant about a sign in a store window, "No Jews or dogs." He tries to turn it into a jest for his son, shielding him from its cruelty; he mentions a hardware store he once saw with a sign reading, "No kangaroos or Chinese," and proposes a sign on his own bookshop, "No spiders or Visigoths."

**T**HIS is how the movie works its double-edged spell: in trying to treat fascism itself as a game for a child, Mr. Benigni's character ends up revealing both its nightmarishness and its grotesque absurdity. The magic doesn't always work: there are times when Mr. Benigni's fable makes the camps so much less horrific than they really were that one begins to question the fable's premise. But the character's efforts to preserve his son's innocence, down to his final mocking goose-step, are heart-rending. Mr. Benigni said he had in mind the classic clown's ability to illuminate

tragedy by touching the "majesty of truth."

This style of death-haunted clowning may even be part of the Italian theatrical tradition (something that Mann seemed to know in his tale as well). It is there in Fellini's 1974 "Amarcord" — a film Mr. Benigni mentioned — in which fascism has the aura of a circus, dominated by "the big, big face of Mussolini." It is also there in the Italian commedia dell'arte, in which the buffoon often faces death. The Italian clown Toto was immensely popular during the fascist period, Mr. Benigni pointed out. "Physically, he was like a skeleton," he said. In the midst of his clowning "everything was full of death; behind the laugh there was death."

And behind fascism there might be a laugh. "My pop planned something like this for me, too, when I was little," Mr. Benigni's character tells his son as they are being transported to the camps on their surprise outing. Ha.

## The Last of the Chanteurs

By ALAN RIDING

**C**HARLES AZNAVOUR may well be the only person who remembers his first visit to New York, in 1948. He was 24, poor, and spoke no English, but he was eager for adventure. Edith Piaf had invited him to accompany her to the United States — as a friend, not a lover, he insists — and the "little sparrow" helped him find a few gigs of his own.

More important, this short, wiry Frenchman entered a world of music in which he felt immediately at home. He already knew the work of Cole Porter, George Gershwin and Jerome Kern, and now he discovered Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington and Dizzy Gillespie.

When he next visited New York, in 1963, Mr. Aznavour had already made it as a singer, songwriter and actor in Europe, but he was still largely unknown in the United States.

This time, he was determined to be noticed. He rented Carnegie Hall and, helped by a television appearance on the Jack Parr show and by his starring role in François Truffaut's hit movie "Shoot the Piano Player," his concert was a sellout. "No one knew me, except they had seen the film and they thought I played the piano," he recalled with amusement. "I don't play the piano."

This week, as Mr. Aznavour embarks on a new American tour, public recognition is the least of his problems. Having sold close to 100 million albums (his latest is "Plus Bleu..."), he now enjoys the magical status of international musical legend.

Indeed, after the death of Frank Sinatra, he may well be the last practitioner of a song tradition that dates back to the 1940's. Yet he is no relic from the past. At 74, as energetic and good-humored as ever, he remains a performer extraordinaire. Starting Tuesday, he will be appearing through Nov. 1 at the Marquis Theater on Broadway. He will take the same show to the Wilshire Theater in Los Angeles from Nov. 19 through Nov. 24.

For all his world travels, though, Mr. Aznavour's American tours are special to him, not least because they always raise a teasing question: Would he also have become a celebrity if, as was almost the case, he had been born an American? When his Armenian parents — his singer father, Micha, and actress mother, Knar — arrived in Paris in 1920, their intention was to travel on to the United States. And if their visas had



Charles Aznavour in Paris.

come through quickly, Charles Aznavour (his original surname) would no doubt have been born in the New World.

Instead, he became a Frenchman, and his family settled here. Eventually, he learned English (through the songs of Fred Astaire, Mel Tormé and Frank Sinatra, he notes), but as a third language.

Nonetheless, his upbringing in Paris was as cosmopolitan as it would have been in the New York of the 1920's and 1930's. His parents, already part of the Armenian diaspora provoked by Turkish persecution, were born in Georgia and his father spoke Yiddish as well as Russian and Armenian.

Further, in Paris, where his father ran a small Armenian restaurant to supplement his earnings as a singer and where Charles went to French primary school to learn of "our ancestors, the Gauls," the family lived in the heart of the Jewish community of the Marais.

"All my childhood friends are Jews," Mr. Aznavour said in a recent interview in his son's office at Editions Berton, one of several musical publishers that Mr. Aznavour now owns. "I was brought up among them. I finished up having the same gestures, the same way of talking, the same way of joking. During the German occupation, I was arrested several times for being Jewish. Shall we say, I don't have a very Catholic appearance. They'd take me to the command post. I'd show my baptism certificate, but they didn't believe me. They'd make me take down my trousers. As I tell my friends, I am the only Ashkenazi guy in France."

Mr. Aznavour's musical education, albeit informal, was no less international. His father taught him Russian, Jewish, Gypsy, Italian and Armenian songs. He felt drawn to American music — Josephine Baker had led an invasion of Paris by black American musicians and entertainers — and he loved the tangos of

Carlos Gardel.

Years later, he discovered Arab, Iranian and Spanish music. And, in time, he concluded that his highly distinct tenor voice, with its raspy nasal color, had a Mediterranean quality that appealed to a variety of audiences.

"I think Jews like my voice because it has a bit of the cantor," he mused. "I have North African followers because my voice also has something of the muezzin. It's an Eastern voice. I have an Eastern voice and a Western way of writing songs. Not that I have a particular musical style. In fact, I don't think there is a French musical style. The rhythms have always come from abroad — tango, rock, jazz, samba, bossa nova. Perhaps only the French accordion is special."

And yet Mr. Aznavour sounds so quintessentially French, so much part of a rich tradition of chanson Française, which over the last 60 years has included Maurice Chevalier, Charles Trenet (now 85 years old and retired, but still Mr. Aznavour's role model), Georges Brassens, Jacques Brel, Leo Ferré, Yves Montand, Gilbert Bécaud, Juliette Gréco, Barbara and, of course, Edith Piaf.

"The chanson Française is the text," he explained. "It's the text that conditions the music. It's curious. Most French songwriters are people without high school education, like me. I left school at 11. They're people who come from the streets. In the chanson Française, a sort of street wisdom suddenly becomes literature. It's the same principle as country-western music in the United States. Also rap and the troubadour tradition of Arab music. The songs tell stories, sometimes puerile, but always well written."

What immediately distinguished Mr. Aznavour from his peers was that he wrote his own songs. In fact, while still unknown as a performer, he wrote songs for Piaf, Mr. Bécaud, Ms. Gréco and Eddie Constantine. Years later, vocalists around the world continued to tap his songs, including those that became hits in English, like "Yesterday, When I Was Young" (recorded by Bing Crosby), "La Mamma" (recorded by Ray Charles), "She" and "Take Me Along."

But with the exception of medleys sung in joint appearances with Piaf, Zadora and Liza Minnelli in recent years, Mr. Aznavour has always sung his own words and often his own music. Thrice married with four children, presumably his own wanderings through life and love have given him a tale or two to recount.

## COMEDY CLUB FOR DOCTORS

By DAVID J. KAHN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

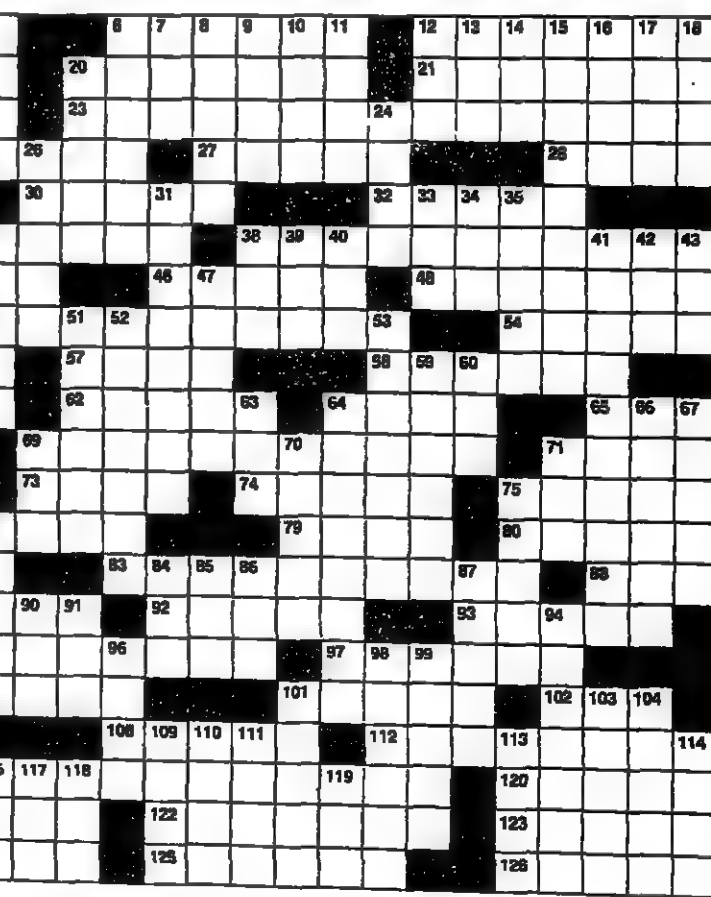
## ACROSS

- 1 Street boss
- 6 Exchange activities
- 12 Russian Revolution figure
- 19 Enlighten
- 20 Ushers
- 21 Longtime magazine subscriber
- 22 Early Virginia settler
- 23 The obstetrician had
- 25 Plant with a bitter fruit
- 27 Pretentious
- 28 800-year-old work on mythology
- 29 Nationality suffix
- 30 -to-be
- 32 Senator of Watergate fame
- 36 Fighting force
- 38 The aboriginal's monologue drew a
- 44 Legal proceeding, at law
- 46 Verdun's river
- 48 Gripes
- 49 Words before Z
- 50 A surgeon was the
- 54 Hostess Perle
- 55 Series opener?
- 57 Bernhard contemporary of old theater
- 58 At the highest development
- 61 1977 Broadway hit
- 62 Leaf pore
- 64 Engine sound
- 65 Song words before "a rock" and "the waltzes"
- 66 Actor Fernando et al.
- 69 The gastroenterologist got many
- 71 W.W. II battle site
- 72 Hoops legend, familiarly
- 73 Completion of Robt.'s signature
- 74 Expansion of a sort
- 75 Hajji's destination
- 76 Least typical
- 79 Mark McGwire, e.g.
- 80 — water
- 81 Miracle worker?
- 83 The orthopedist went on stage after a
- 88 French links
- 89 May birthstone
- 92 "You — Beautiful"
- 93 Beer name since 1888
- 95 The anesthetologist's shick was
- 97 Big name in fashion
- 100 Engine sound
- 101 Shed —
- 102 Fed. property overseer
- 105 Mangel-wurzel
- 108 Prunes, in a way
- 112 Place for posters?

- 115 The dermatologist came out with a —
- 120 Kind of bean
- 121 It's a relief
- 122 Capital of ancient Assyria
- 123 Following
- 124 Gretzky and Ewing
- 125 Get ticked off
- 126 Rubberneck

## DOWN

- 1 Certain Ford, briefly
- 2 Dig, so to speak
- 3 Fictional Marner
- 4 The cardiologist's routine was a little
- 5 Summit refusal?
- 6 Tittered
- 7 Actress Charlotte
- 8 Swinging, perhaps
- 9 A lot of bucks
- 10 Formerly, formerly
- 11 Frequent fliers
- 12 Historic beginning
- 13 Elusive one
- 14 Singer DiFranco
- 15 Golf score range, with "the"
- 16 Knocked out
- 17 Hardly a hipster
- 18 — Little
- 19 — Tenderness
- 20 Carved pillar
- 21 Tannery employee
- 26 Get out the tough dirt spots
- 31 Woman's garment
- 33 Handle, in a way



## ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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BRINGUPASTICKYISUBJECT  
AGED SEWERTE COARSE  
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ONTO DISBAR TOSSPOTS  
END STOLED LOB 0910  
FLAXEN REARWINDSHIELD  
RANGID EYA ECALAT  
ENTERER NITT LER FACT  
EGOS ROW HAV LEO 0910  
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CARPORSOMETHINGTOEAT  
APES LEAVE AONE SKATE  
BEATFOOTERWLEGS ESTER

سورة من القرآن



# Self-portrait in true colors

Arie Eckstein's formal education didn't go beyond third grade — but he had something else: authenticity. Abraham Rabinovich visited the outspoken writer and painter in Rosh Pina



Eckstein: 'We're afflicted with a genetic sense of ugliness.'

(Israel Sun)

He hadn't even finished rolling his first joint of the day but it seemed to Arie Eckstein that he was already hallucinating. The paper in which he had placed the hashish was torn from that day's edition of *Ha'aretz*. What caught his eye was an announcement of a short-story contest.

It was an answer to a fantasy. "I had written a short story years before. Now I had an address to submit it to." The story won first prize.

Eckstein recalled the occasion as he sat recently in his home in upper Rosh Pina, where a handful of artists still hold out in some of the village's original houses amidst a tide of villas. The shutters were closed against the outside world, but enough light filtered in to make out the cluttered assemblage of furniture and paintings.

Locals, queried about Eckstein's whereabouts, direct visitors to a house with boots hanging from the flowerpot outside. There is no name on the door.

Eckstein's short story described how, between the ages of eight and 11 in prewar Poland, he had pined for his aunt in Lodz. Life had been downhill ever since. He was now, he confessed, a writer. Worse, a writer trying to get a book published.

To truly feel the depths of that condition, Eckstein had asked the Tel Aviv municipality for permission to set up a stand on a pedestrian mall to sell the book which he would get printed privately.

The response from the "bleeps" had been "bleep and don't bother us," according to Eckstein. His language is rich in unprintable bleeps. Printable by him, maybe, if only the bleeps would permit a private bookselling venture on the bleeping mall.

"They sell everything there," he says. "Jewelry, paintings, ceramics. But the most cultural thing there is, books, they don't permit. It doesn't cost much to print a book yourself and to bind it."

"Why not let an author who can't get his book published commercially, particularly new immigrants, set up a stand and put up a sign saying who they are and what their book is about?"

IN TRUTH, Eckstein has already had two books published commercially. In the wake of the short-story contest, an official of Keter Publishing visited him and persuaded him to expand his winning entry into a book. It was called *Aunt Esther*. There was also a sequel. The books were translated into several languages, but not into English.

The fact that he had only a third-grade education does not impair his writing efforts.

"I'm a storyteller," he says. "When I was a kid I would go from village to village with a professional storyteller and we would tell stories together in Yiddish."

He is not impressed, let it be said without adornment, with the storytelling abilities of the mighties of modern Hebrew literature who have never looked a crowd of peasant Jews in the eye and asked them to suspend disbelief.

Eckstein was born in Vilna close to 70 years ago and the family moved shortly thereafter to Lodz. His parents separated when he

was a year old and he ended up in a Jewish orphanage until his aunt provided gainful employment. Then came the Lodz ghetto "and all those pensions" — Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald.

He reached Palestine in 1947 and joined the Palmah, participating in the battles of the Harel Brigade under Yitzhak Rabin, including the battle for the road to Jerusalem.

Afterwards came stints as a fisherman, a seaman, an oil-rig hand, and a cowboy on nearby Kibbutz Amiad. In his spare time, he painted.

He first came to Rosh Pina to get his kibbutz horse shod by a blacksmith who still plied that honorable trade in town.

"The first time I came to Rosh Pina, I felt that I had been here

before. I fell in love with the place. By chance, my name, Eckstein. By chance, the same as Rosh Pina [cornerstone] in Hebrew." He settled in the old quarter of the town and became a full-time artist.

THE PLACE was full of wonderful characters, most of whom have since gone their way. Eckstein is very unhappy at the way the local council is turning the area into a tourist site and at the way the country's architectural and landscape heritage is treated in general.

"We're afflicted in this country with a genetic sense of ugliness. Rosh Pina was authentic once. Now they're developing it with sound-and-light shows for infantile American tourists and covering the cobblestones with asphalt," Eckstein says.

He is reminded of the story about movie director Roman Polanski searching through Polish villages for someone to depict a cart driver for a film on a Jewish shield. He finds exactly the type he is looking for sitting with cronies on a village street.

The burly man with a bushy beard, muddy boots and dirty frock could have stepped out of a Shalom Aleichem story.

Polanski makes his offer. "You just have to sit on the cart. No talking."

"But it's for money?"

"Of course."

"How much?"

"Fifty dollars a day."

"OK, but all the money now."

At Polanski's surprised expression, his recruit explains that the director might run off without paying him. Polanski agrees. When the shooting begins two days later, the cart driver shows up as befits his new status — cleanly shaven, with new shoes and a new suit.

So much for authenticity. Writer though he be, Eckstein has been making a living as an artist, even though marketing is admittedly not his strong side.

"I can't stand it when people ask me when I painted something. What difference [does it make] when I painted it? Do you like it or not? A woman once asked me that and I threw her out." (The exact phrase was "threw her down all the stairs.")

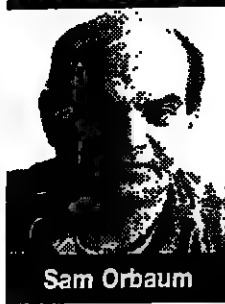
"For me this is the end. I get sick when you ask 'when.' You come to see my paintings and that's what you ask." Another woman, after scanning his work, asked if he happened to have a painting of Tiberias.

"I showed her a tree I painted and told her 'Madam, you're in luck. I painted this in Tiberias.' She bought it. Three months ago a woman looked at my self-portrait and asked me what it was. I told her 'a submarine.'"

Anyone trying to find Arie Eckstein, remember the hanging boots. If he lets you in just don't ask "when" about anything. And watch out for the bleeping stairs.

## The lion that whimpered

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

Once saw a wounded lion up close. It remained docile until someone pointed at its hurt paw, whereupon it roared ferociously, making it clear that it was, after all, still a lion to be feared.

Professor Eliezer Rachmilevich is a wounded lion, wounded by a lamb. He would like to make a loud noise about it, reminding us that he is, still, the great Professor Rachmilevich.

But he is muted. He licks his injured pride as the country points an accusing finger at him. He cannot speak about it. He feels defenseless and vulnerable, lion though he is.

The story is well-known, a scandal that rocked the nation when it came to light two years ago. Rachmilevich, head of hematology at Jerusalem's Hadassah-University Hospital,

Ein Kerem, was accused of turning away a teenage cancer patient formerly under his care because she dared seek a second opinion. He allegedly gave orders that the terminally ill young woman, Dassy Rabinowitz, be refused a transfusion, forcing her to go elsewhere. (She died several months later.)

A high-level investigation will decide his fate in November.

For Dassy, the little lamb who brought down the king of beasts, there was, understandably, universal sympathy. For Rachmilevich, there has been absolute vilification.

If the accusations are judged to be true, he committed the unforgivable: compromising his role in the circle of life.

I am not attempting to investigate the case here, or to judge it; that is being done by a committee with far greater access to the truth. In numerous conversations with Rachmilevich, I have heard his version, but as persuasive as he is, I await the tribunal; if he is found guilty, may the ax fall.

I came to know him because I was under his department's care for many months. He visited me frequently and we chatted (no doubt because I'm a journalist). After having written scathingly about the attitudes of some staffers elsewhere in the hospital, I found his hematology ward to be a model of professionalism, dedication and compassion. He had trained them, he said proudly, and I could only laud his efforts.

He always wanted to talk about the scandal, but he held back on details, correctly citing patient-doctor confidentiality.

He desperately needed a sympathetic ear, a friend in the fourth estate, because he was being torn limb from limb by the press. He singled out *The Jerusalem Post* for not being unfair, but he felt there was near-glee in the Hebrew papers over his plight,

like hyenas gouging his not-yet-dead body.

It is not hard to see why. If this were a question of negligence, rather than perfidious abuse of power, there would be no scandal; if he were a bus driver, or a factory foreman, there would be no widespread outrage. But a doctor!

THERE has been a startling pattern lately of doctors being assaulted by agitated patients or grief-stricken relatives. In this era of medical science we have high expectations. More than that, we no longer respectfully subjugate ourselves to authority. A doctor who fails to cure, or fails to respond snappily to our cries, might take a fistful on the chin. He might be sued. Or he might be accused of terrible things.

We all experience a certain savage satisfaction in seeing the mighty humbled.

**Professor Eliezer Rachmilevich — a lordly icon on a crumbling pedestal — does not walk so tall anymore**

Rachmilevich represents an out-of-fashion image: a lordly icon on a crumbling pedestal. Hadassah used to be full of them, haughty gods affected by their powers to save lives. Most were expunged over the last two decades. Rachmilevich survived the purge and, in the snake pit of career climbing that is the Hadassah Medical Organization, he made it to the heights. He may or may not have been helped by being the son of Moshe Rachmilevich, one of the country's revered medical pioneers; but he has certainly come to be recognized as one of Israel's top doctors.

And the bigger they are, the harder they fall.

Eliezer Rachmilevich today does not cut the towering figure he used to. He is humbled. He is hurt, a patient who can't find healing. Where there was a sense of superiority in his bearing, now there is self-sympathy. He does not walk so tall anymore. He is suffering, not like Dassy did, not in fear of his life, but for fear of living with his reputation ruined.

He deserves to be deflated, said one of his staffers, but not like this, not by this case, not to this extent. I spoke to many of his underlings, including the nurse directly involved in the case, and almost every one of them was sympathetic and supportive of Rachmilevich.

Waiting for the final judgment against him — not by society, which has already prepared the noose, but by the tribunal — he is profoundly frustrated. He does not feel he was wrong, but he knows no one believes that. And he has nowhere to go for a second opinion.

## Shlepping them to class for a bit of a shmooze

A Baltimore professor is doing her utmost to save the language that so richly and uniquely evokes the Jewish spirit, writes Ernest F. Imhoff



Isaacs: 'The hourglass on Yiddish is running low.' (The Baltimore Sun)

Miriam Isaacs, a professor on a quest to save a dying language, wrote the Yiddish phrase *shoen madel* on the blackboard and asked, "What's that?"

One of her students said "beautiful girl," and the linguist responded with a touch of Yiddish humor of the kind that has cheered the world for centuries: "Right. Many a child has been afflicted with that saying. Usually they want something from you when they tell you that."

A humorist — such as Leo Rosten, author of *The Joys of Yiddish* — Isaacs doesn't pretend to be. But her occasionally light approach helps advance a serious personal mission in Elementary Yiddish 101, a new for-credit course she offers to a tiny few at Baltimore Hebrew University.

"The hourglass on Yiddish is running low," Isaacs says of the 1,000-year-old tongue, the world's dominant Jewish language until late in the first half of the 20th century.

One recent night at the college, the professor, who also teaches at the University of Maryland, learned again just how low the sand and how tiny the few. She had three students — a grandmother, a college student and a high school student.

If the class doesn't reach 10 students quickly, the university's president, Robert O. Freedman, says he might cancel the course, although he has scheduled other Yiddish events this fall and the university has taught informal noncredit classes in Yiddish to elderly residents for several years.

"We're hoping to revive interest and make this go," Freedman says. "Yiddish is too important to let die."

ISAACS, 51, of Washington, D.C., knows the task only too well. She has spoken Yiddish with her parents since her childhood in a displaced persons camp in postwar Germany. The family moved to Canada and then to the U.S.

For years she has studied Yiddish history, vocabulary, alphabet, dialects and literature as a serious subject.

"I have no illusions about what I can do to save Yiddish," says Isaacs, who cherishes its ability to evoke the Jewish spirit, indeed, the human spirit.

"We love this language. It's so rich in talking of people and human character, so musical, so open to nuances in other languages, so humorous."

"But there needs to be a shift in attitude in the synagogues, museums and institutions. Yiddish is not a low-brow language that some say can't be too important because 'My Aunt Minnie spoke it and she wasn't too smart.'"

Isaacs's three students that night had a lively time pronouncing the guttural Rs and the soft Ls and recalling some of the hundreds of Yiddish words that entered American English, many with more than one accepted spelling.

according to different teachers: *kveich* (complain), *shlep* (drag), *shnook* (fool), *shmooze* (chat), *bubele* (a term of endearment) and *mensch* (decent, honorable person), a word her students seemed to think described their teacher.

And of course, *chutzpa* (brazen nerve, as in the man who kills his parents and throws himself on the mercy of the court because he's an orphan).

"It is a remarkable fact," Rosten wrote in his 1968 book, "that never in its history has Yiddish been so influential — among Gentiles [among Jews, alas, the tongue is running dry]."

The three students, all from Baltimore, had their own reasons for being there.

Sara Fishman, the grandmother, received a master's degree in Jewish studies from the university

20 years ago.

"I was brought up without Yiddish. I'm not a linguist, but have been interested in Jewish culture and Yiddish literature for years. I'm following the Jewish concept of spending a lifetime studying."

Noah Wolner, a third-year student at Baltimore Hebrew University: "I've always been interested in learning Yiddish. I went through the catalog and found this course."

Ben Miller, a junior at Pikesville High School, who took four university courses last year and is taking two this semester: "My grandparents speak Yiddish and other languages such as Hebrew, Russian, Polish and German. I'd like to speak to them in Yiddish."

They all enjoyed Isaacs's story about the Jewish immigrant boy who is asked his name by an immigration official at Ellis Island. Silence.

Finally the youth says in Yiddish, "shoin fergessen" ("I've already forgotten"). The bureaucrat said, "Oh, OK, Sean Ferguson."

YIDDISH (for "Juedisch," or "Jewish" in German) has been spoken by Ashkenazi Jews for 1,000 years, according to the *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

It grew out of Middle High German among Jewish settlers along the Rhine River. They eventually were forced to migrate to Poland and other nearby countries.

Yiddish predominated among Jewish languages until many Jews immigrated to the New World between 1880 and 1914 and began assimilating into American society.

Yiddish was the language of such highly regarded writers as Mendele Moicher Sforim, Sholem Aleichem, Yitzhak Leibush Peretz and Halper Leiwick — as well as the language of a vigorous theater, media and tradition of humor.

Isaacs describes the recent historical squeeze play on Yiddish.

"About 11 million Jews spoke Yiddish before World War II," she says. "Five [million] of the 6 million Jews killed in the Holocaust

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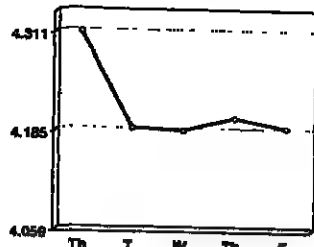
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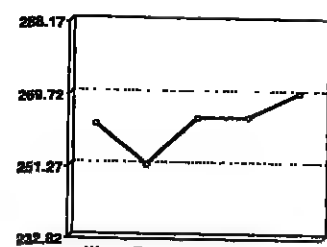
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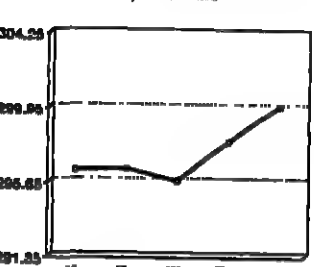


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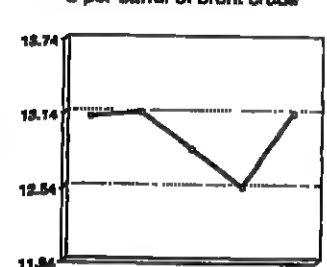
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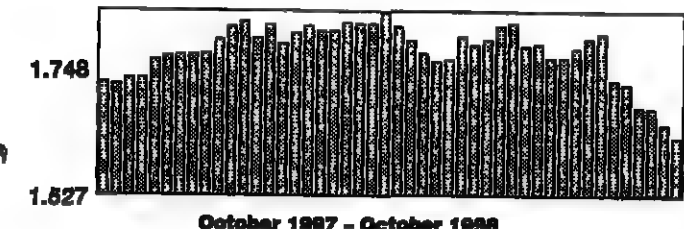


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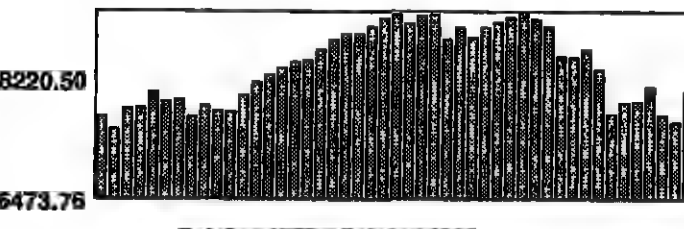
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### Sept. M1 money supply up 3.1%

The Bank of Israel's M1 money supply gauge increased 3.1 percent in September to NIS 22.1 billion, following an updated 1.7% rise in August, the central bank reported yesterday. M1, which includes the sum of currency in public circulation, demand, deposit, and travelers' checks, has risen 15.9% during the last 12 months. In the last three months alone M1 money supply has increased 9%. *David Zev Harris*

### Foreign workers up 1.1% in 1st half

The number of foreigners working here with a valid permit reached an average 83,000 during the first half of the year, up 1.1% on the same period last year, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday. However, in comparison to the second half of 1997, their number decreased by 1%. There was also a 3.8% decrease in the number of foreign workers in the second quarter this year in comparison to the previous three months. *David Zev Harris*

### IDF decides to buy more Negev guns

The IDF has decided to purchase several hundred more Negev light machine guns. The Negev 5.56 mm. gun is set to replace the MAG 7.62 machine gun. The Negev is now undergoing testing with special units. The Negev is produced by Israel Military Industries. It is being modified in several ways, such as the removal of the bipod. Instead, a front hold-handle has been added. *Siege Rodan*

### Paper: Jordan to select Amman water supplier

Jordan said it will select by the end of the year, an international consortium, to finance, build, and manage a \$500 million joint venture arrangement with a Jordanian public company for a 20-year project to pump water to Amman from the Disi aquifer in the south of the country, the United Arab daily newspaper *The Gulf News* reported, citing Jordan's Water Minister Hani Mulqi. The project is expected to provide about 100 million cu.m. of water a year to the kingdom, Mulqi said. Jordan is facing a water shortage and is under a rationing system; citizens can get water from public supplies only two days a week, households are restricted to just 22 gallons a day, compared with 65 gallons per household in Saudi Arabia and 78 gallons in Israel. *Bloomberg*

Finance Committee chairman Ravitz:

## Tax reform to miss Jan. deadline

By DAVID ZEV HARRIS

It is now virtually impossible for any of the Treasury's tax reform proposals to be implemented by January 1, Knesset Finance Committee chairman Avraham Ravitz said yesterday.

Ravitz also said he believes the reform cannot be introduced in a partial format, which is presently the ministry's plan of action.

The tax reform aims to cap marginal tax levels at 35 percent, while abolishing most existing tax breaks, a move which is bound to antagonize a host of lobbies and vested interest groups.

"I don't believe the finance minister is ready to present the proposals," said Ravitz. "All this is going to necessitate drastic changes and to do that you need massive

amounts of legislation and all sorts of agreements to push ahead with the legislation." These steps, according to Ravitz, will "almost certainly not be in place in time."

While stressing that once the measures are introduced the committee will work "non-stop" to process them, Ravitz said he does not believe a partial change to the status quo will help improve the tax system.

"I don't think it's right to introduce only part of the reform," he said, adding he believes the elements that are prepared are those which address the issue of lowering the upper tax brackets. Plans for funding such a cut are not yet in place, according to Ravitz, and it is impossible to implement one without the other.

MKs are expected to press Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman in coming days to release more details concerning the reform,

which they will eventually have to approve. "The cabinet must approve the measures before they get to the Knesset," said Neeman's spokesman Monty Sherf. Most of the details of the planned reform have now been passed on to the prime minister, and the plan will be presented to the cabinet within the next few weeks.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu is on record supporting Neeman's proposed reform. Neeman and Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel are scheduled to appear before the committee this morning to answer questions concerning the shekel's recent depreciation.

Ravitz said he expects the two to say whether there will be any form of intervention in currency trading and explain why. "In my personal opinion there shouldn't be

any intervention," said Ravitz. "The present situation is not highly exceptional and things are still under control, while the devaluation has also had a positive effect on exporters for example."

Meanwhile, the Treasury is completing its preparations for the introduction to the Knesset of the 1999 state budget.

The bill's first reading will take place next Tuesday, immediately followed by an intensive, section-by-section discussion of the program in the Finance Committee.

The budget proposal is scheduled to ultimately proceed to the plenum during the last week of the year for its second and third readings.

At the same time, the Treasury will attempt to push through the budgetary arrangements bill, which details the precise financial content of the budget.

## Microsoft antitrust court fight starts today

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Microsoft court battle that begins today pits the world's most influential software company against federal antitrust regulators in a struggle to affect the course of the computer age.

One of the most important business trials of the century, the outcome of the case could dramatically change how people buy and use software, including programs, called browsers, used to seek out information on the World Wide Web.

More than 80 percent of desktop computers use some version of Microsoft's Windows. That software serves as a PC's central nervous system and allows it to connect to the increasingly important Internet and run other programs, such as business applications or games.

Such an overwhelming role affords Microsoft, with \$14 billion in sales and a remarkable cash reserve of \$13.9 billion, tremendous sway across the industry. It can devastate a rival's market by offering a similar product free or by including a competing product within Windows, just as it bundled its own Internet browser with Windows 95 and quickly seized about half the market.

Indeed, Microsoft's influence is so daunting that venture capitalists



Microsoft CEO Bill Gates appears on a promotional tour for Windows 98 at a San Francisco computer store in June. (AP)

in Silicon Valley and elsewhere won't invest in companies that expect to compete directly with it. The Justice Department and 20 states will use Microsoft's own doc-

uments — many of the 1,229 trial exhibits are e-mail excerpts — along with complaints by competitors to convince a judge that the company behaved illegally toward its high-

tech rivals and should be reined in under federal antitrust laws.

Microsoft argues it bundled its browser with Windows because of demand. Its case was strengthened

in June by a federal appeals ruling that the bundling was a "genuine integration," which is legal, because a single combined product offers benefits over separate ones.

## Dead Sea Bromine loses \$90m. Jordan deal

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Dead Sea Bromine (DSB) announced yesterday that two Jordanian potash companies with which it was negotiating a possible joint venture have granted the project to a US-based rival.

The Arab Potash Company (APC) and Jordan Dead Sea Industries Company (Judico) had been discussing a deal with DSB for the joint manufacturing of bromine in a project worth an estimated \$90 million.

DSB announced in March that the Jordanian government and the two companies had signed a letter of understanding with Albemarle Holdings Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Albemarle Corporation and one of Dead Sea Bromine's two major competitors.

DSB said it did not receive any notice from the Jordanian side on the ending of negotiations. Despite this, APC and Judico announced last week that they signed a final agreement with Albemarle. It is not clear why DSB, which is a subsidiary of Israel Chemicals, was rejected. The company declined to provide further information.

Under the new agreement, APC, Judico, and Albemarle will manufacture and market bromine and bromine derivatives from a complex to be built near the Dead Sea. The joint venture company, Jordan Bromine Company, will build units at Safi to produce bromine, tetrabromobisphenol, and calcium bromide.

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## Report: Euro will hardly affect Med currencies

By DAN GERSTENFELD

The launch of the European Monetary Union and the introduction of the European Union's currency, the euro, will not have much of an impact on Mediterranean currencies, according to a report the European Commission prepared.

The report, which was released yesterday, claims that despite its limited effect, the euro's overall impact on this region is likely to be positive. The benefits for the Mediterranean countries, including Israel, would stem from the creation of a more predictable environment that would allow these countries to fully exploit their comparative advantages in the long run, the report says.

Mediterranean economies also could benefit from a potentially more competitive and efficient source of external financing through the deepening of European financial markets, according to the report.

The paper's authors, Jean-Pierre Chaffour and Loukas Stenmott, who work for the EU directorate, which is responsible for economic and financial affairs, write that the

economic changes in Europe also will provide neighboring countries with incentives to pursue more sustainable growth-oriented policies.

They conclude that in order to reap the full benefits of the European changes, the Mediterranean countries will have to accelerate their own economic and structural reforms. In addition, the changes will provide strong incentives to conduct prudent fiscal and monetary policies and to launch far-reaching reforms to further integrate the region into the world economy.

Meanwhile, a document the Treasury's International Division prepared recommends that the possibility of converting part of Israel's foreign currency reserves into euros be examined.

The report also said that Israeli exporters have to acquire knowledge concerning the euro, while importers would have to start issuing euro-denominated invoices. In addition, the report predicts that imports from the European Union will become more attractive as their prices are expected to decline following the euro's introduction.













OUT OF REACH - California WR Dameane Douglas (81) can't catch a pass from QB Justin Vedder as Washington defenders give close coverage in second-quarter action at Husky Stadium in Seattle. Washington won 21-13.

## Losers are big winners in NCAA play

PASADENA (AP) - Three of college football's lowliest teams pulled off stunning victories Saturday, while UCLA won a wild shootout over Oregon in a matchup of unbeaten teams.

Previously winless Temple shocked No. 14 Virginia Tech 28-24, Northern Illinois ended the nation's longest major-college losing streak at 23 games with a 16-6 win over Central Michigan, and Rutgers snapped a 13-game road losing streak by beating Pittsburgh 25-21.

Second-ranked UCLA beat No. 11 Oregon 41-38 in overtime on a 24-yard field goal by Chris Sailer, who had missed a 21-yarder on the final play of regulation.

UCLA (5-0, 3-0 Pac-10) extended the nation's longest winning streak to 15 games, but had some anxious moments after Oregon (5-1, 2-1) scored 24 consecutive points to pull ahead 31-24 early in the fourth quarter.

Brian Clark kicked three field goals as Northern Illinois (1-5, 1-2 Mid-American) won for the first time since Sept. 21, 1996. Students tore down the goal posts after the game, which was delayed 26 minutes in the first quarter by lightning.

"Not until it was over did I feel

we had won," coach Joe Novak said. "Our kids played possessed. They came through when we needed to."

Freshman Devin Scott threw for 155 yards and two touchdowns as Temple (1-6, 1-2 Big East) beat Virginia Tech (5-1, 3-1). It was the Owls' first road victory in the Big East after 26 losses and their first win over a ranked team in 11 years.

Scott scored the go-ahead touchdown on a 1-yard sneak with 6:08 left and Temple won despite Virginia Tech driving 86 yards to the Owls' 2 in the closing minutes. Ricky Hall dropped a pass in the end zone with 24 seconds remaining, and Lamont Pegues was stopped for a loss on a fourth-down sweep.

"The Temple jinx that we cannot win a game, that last goal-line play just kicked that door down," Owls coach Bobby Wallace said.

Mike McMahon threw two touchdown passes in the third quarter as Rutgers (3-3, 1-3 Big East) rallied to beat Pitt. Rutgers, a 21-point underdog, entered the game 0-9 in Pittsburgh and 2-13 overall against the Panthers.

No. 1 Ohio St. 45  
Minnesota 15

At Columbus, Ohio, Joe

Germaine passed for 339 yards and two touchdowns, and David Boston had 10 receptions for 191 yards as Ohio State routed Minnesota.

Minnesota (3-3, 0-3) hasn't won at Ohio Stadium since 1949.

No. 2 UCLA 41  
No. 11 Oregon 38 (OT)

Host UCLA tied the game on a 2-yard touchdown run by Jermaine Lewis with 10:13 remaining and went ahead 38-31 on a 60-yard TD pass from Cade McNown to Danny Farmer with 2:36 left.

But the Ducks tied the game on a 2-yard pass from Akili Smith to Damon Griffin with 22 seconds to play and Nathan Villegas' conversion. After Oregon's overtime possession was halted by an interception, Keith Brown's running helped UCLA move into position for Sailer's winning field goal.

No. 4 Kansas St. 52  
Oklahoma St. 20

Michael Bishop threw three TD passes and ran for two as host Kansas State broke an 88-year-old school record with its 14th straight victory.

Bishop completed only 8 of 23 passes, but those completions covered 287 yards, including a 60-yard strike to the 1 that set up

Frank Murphy's 2-yard TD run in the third.

No. 5 Florida 24, Auburn 3  
Doug Johnson passed for 198 yards and two touchdowns and Travis McGriff scored twice as Florida (6-1, 4-1 SEC) extended its home winning streak to 26 games.

No. 25 Georgia Tech 41  
No. 7 Virginia 38

Dez White turned a short catch into a 54-yard touchdown with 4:40 remaining to give Georgia Tech (5-1, 4-0 ACC) a home victory.

No. 9 Wisconsin 37, Illinois 3  
Ron Dayne rushed for 190 yards and three scores as visiting Wisconsin (7-0, 4-0 Big Ten) remained unbeaten.

It was Dayne's sixth straight 100-yard game this year. Illinois (2-5, 1-3) had only two first downs in the first half.

No. 12 Penn State 31  
Purdue 13

Freshman Eric McCoo rushed for 163 yards and one touchdown and Aaron Harris scored twice as Penn State (5-1, 2-1 Big Ten) won at home.

Purdue's Drew Brees was pressured all day by State's defense, but still completed 39 of 57 passes for 361 yards and one touchdown.

No. 13 Georgia 31  
Vanderbilt 6

Two-way starter Champ Bailey turned two screen passes into touchdowns and set up two other scores as host Georgia (5-1, 3-1 SEC) kept Vanderbilt winless (0-6, 0-4).

Bailey, an All-SEC cornerback last season, made his third start at wide receiver this season. He caught a 29-yard TD pass from freshman Quincy Carter in the first quarter and added a 44-yard scoring catch in the third period.

No. 16 Arizona 28  
Oregon St. 7

Kelvin Eason scored on three short touchdown runs and Leon Callen added 107 yards and a score as visiting Arizona beat fumble-plagued Oregon State.

Eason gained 84 yards for the Wildcats (6-1, 3-1 Pac-10), who outscored the Beavers 228-21. Oregon State (4-3, 1-3) lost four fumbles, including two in the first half that led to 14 Arizona points.

No. 17 Arkansas 41  
South Carolina 28

Clint Stoerner perked up a sluggish offense with three second-half TD passes as Arkansas (6-0, 3-0 SEC) rallied to win on the road.

The Razorbacks, off to their best start since 1988, gained only 108

yards in the first half and trailed 21-10. But Stoerner led four straight scoring drives in the second half, including TD tosses of 51 yards to Michael Williams and 5 yards to Anthony Lucas.

No. 19 Colorado 19  
No. 22 Texas Tech 17

Jeremy Aldrich kicked four field goals and Colorado used a strong defensive effort to win at home.

Colorado (6-1, 3-1 Big 12) forced three turnovers and held the Red Raiders (6-1, 3-1) in check over the final 30 minutes, preventing Spike Dykes from tying Pete Cawthon as the winningest coach in Texas Tech history.

No. 20 Missouri 20  
Oklahoma 6

Wade Perkins returned one of his two interceptions for a touchdown as host Missouri beat Oklahoma for the first time since 1983.

Devin West ran for two touchdowns for Missouri (5-1, 2-0 Big 12), which held Oklahoma (2-4, 0-3) to two first downs and 48 yards in the first half.

No. 23 Syracuse 42  
Boston College 25

Jeff Lowe caught the first two touchdown passes of his career as host Syracuse (4-2, 2-0 Big East) beat Boston College (3-3, 2-2).

Lowe, who replaced injured Quinton Spotwood, caught TD passes of 12 and 29 yards from Donovan McNabb.

No. 24 Tulane 28, Louisville 22  
Shaun King threw three TD passes despite playing with a broken left wrist and host Tulane withstood a late rally to continue its best start in 24 years.

The Green Wave matched the 5-0 start of the 1974 team that finished 5-6. King was 16-of-29 for 273 yards without an interception.

How the top 25 college football teams fared

No. 1 Ohio State (6-0) beat Minnesota 45-15.  
No. 2 UCLA (5-0) beat No. 11 Oregon 41-38, OT.  
No. 3 Tennessee (6-0) did not play.  
No. 4 Kansas State (6-0) beat Oklahoma State 52-20.  
No. 5 Florida (6-1) beat Auburn 24-3.  
No. 6 Florida State (6-1) beat Clemson 48-0.  
No. 7 Virginia (5-1) lost to No. 25 Georgia Tech 41-38.  
No. 8 Nebraska (6-1) beat Kansas 41-0.  
No. 9 Wisconsin (7-0) beat Illinois 37-3.  
No. 10 Texas A&M (6-1) beat Baylor 35-24.  
No. 11 Oregon (5-1) lost to No. 2 UCLA 41-38, OT.  
No. 12 Penn State (5-1) beat Purdue 31-13.  
No. 13 Georgia (5-1) beat Vanderbilt 31-6.  
No. 14 Virginia Tech (5-1) lost to Temple 28-24.  
No. 15 West Virginia (4-1) did not play.  
No. 16 Arizona (6-1) beat Oregon State 28-7.  
No. 17 Arkansas (6-0) beat South Carolina 41-28.  
No. 18 Notre Dame (4-1) did not play.  
No. 19 Colorado (6-1) beat No. 22 Texas Tech 19-17.  
No. 20 Missouri (5-1) beat Oklahoma 20-6.  
No. 21 LSU (5-2) lost to Kentucky 28-35.  
No. 22 Texas Tech (6-1) lost to No. 19 Colorado 19-17.  
No. 23 Syracuse (4-2) beat Boston College 42-25.  
No. 24 Tulane (5-0) beat Louisville 28-22.  
No. 25 Georgia Tech (5-1) beat No. 7 Virginia 41-38.

## Dominicans to fete their hero

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic (Reuters) - Record-breaking baseball slugger Sammy Sosa is set to receive a hero's welcome when he returns home to the Dominican Republic tomorrow.

President Leonel Fernandez has declared Oct. 20 "a day of popular celebration" to mark the visit of Sosa, whose race with Mark McGwire of the St. Louis Cardinals in September for the single-season Major League home run record thrilled baseball fans around the world.

Sosa, of the Chicago Cubs, ended the season with 66 home runs, topping the 1961 record of 61 homers held by Roger Maris.

But Sosa was eclipsed by McGwire, who beat Maris' record first and ended the season with 70 homers.

Fernandez said Sosa's achievement "is a national sporting glory... the Dominican people are highly honoured by the attention received by one of their

most deserving sons, who has become a symbol of pride and a role model for all the country's young people." Sosa, who is due to arrive in the capital Santo Domingo Tuesday afternoon, will be greeted by Sports Minister Juan Marichal, himself a Major League baseball legend as a pitcher.

Fernandez will later receive Sosa at the National Palace, official sources said.

Sosa has said he will use his visit home to help victims of Hurricane Georges, which killed at least 380 people in the Dominican Republic in September.

Sosa is from San Pedro de Macoris, an eastern Caribbean fishing village and sugar town. It has a population of only 80,000, but its inhabitants have always dreamed big in a nation obsessed by baseball.

Sosa, who blows his mother kisses after every homer he hits, was once so poor he made his first baseball mitt from a milk carton. Now he is a top ballplayer, a celebrity and a millionaire.

## The Big Apple honors Sosa

### SERIES NOTES

By NOCH KUBATKO

NEW YORK - Throwing out the first pitch before Game 1 of the World Series Saturday night was just the latest in a series of memorable events that took place for Sammy Sosa during a weekend of tributes that began Friday night with a special Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral.

City streets were blocked off Saturday afternoon for a parade in Sosa's honor, and the Chicago Cubs outfielder was given the Roberto Clemente humanitarian award after arriving at Yankee Stadium.

"Everywhere I go, people in America show their appreciation. It's been unbelievable," said Sosa, who captivated fans by joining Mark McGwire on a record-setting home run binge. "It's a very, very nice country."

Friday, at a Spanish-language Mass, Cardinal John O'Connor awarded the Medal of John Paul II to Sosa and four others who have been active in the Roman Catholic Church.

Sosa said he was made to feel right at home. "New York is the second Dominican Republic," he said. "People today supported me and that's unbelievable. I thought I was in the Dominican the way they cheered for me. It made me a very happy person."

The same charm that endeared Sosa to fans this season as he hit 66 homers came to the surface again Saturday. Asked if he had been spoken to by McGwire by phone, as he promised to do once the playoffs began, Sosa flashed a grin and said, "I've tried to reach him, but every time I call, I call collect and he doesn't accept the charges."

The Roberto Clemente award came to Sosa at a time when he's been busy raising money through his foundation to help the victims of Hurricane Georges in his home-



LET'S GO - Cubs slugger Sammy Sosa throws out the first pitch of the World Series at Yankee Stadium Saturday. (Reuters)

town of San Pedro de Macoris. The storm left thousands homeless, and Sosa said he'll return there later this week.

Pettitte returns  
New York left-hander Andy Pettitte returned to the team Saturday after spending the last two days in Texas with his father, Tom, who had triple-bypass heart surgery.

"His dad came through the surgery fine and we're just keeping our fingers crossed," said Yankees Manager Joe Torre. "I know Andy hasn't had much sleep here in the last couple of days, but everything seems to be going well right now."

Pettitte is scheduled to pitch Game 4 in San Diego. He'll try to rebound from a miserable outing against Cleveland in Game 3 of

the American League Championship Series, when he allowed four homers in 4 2/3 innings.

Out in left field  
Left field has been a revolving door for the Yankees throughout the postseason. Tim Lincecum, Chad Curtis, Shane Spencer. They've all been there, and they were all on the bench for Game 1 Saturday night, watching rookie Ricky Ledee start his second straight game.

Ledee went 0-for-4 in Game 6 of the ALCS. He got the nod again in Game 1, making his fourth playoff appearance, driving in the Yankees' first two runs with a bases-loaded double in the second inning.

Torre's reasons for starting Ledee weren't complicated. "Left-handed batter, good defensive left fielder," he said.

And it's not as if Torre was removing a hot bat from the lineup to make room for Ledee, who is on the roster only because of Darrell Strawberry's colon cancer surgery. Raines and Spencer, who hit .373 with 10 homers in 27 regular-season games, each were 1-for-10 in the ALCS, and Curtis was 0-for-4.

Caveat pitcher!  
Padres relievers were warned about what to expect from Yankees fans.

"I told the guys to get ready because when they're warming up in the bullpen they're going to get beer thrown on them and they're going to get some abuse," Padres catcher Jim Leyritz said. "But it's a great environment to play in. I mean, every reporter wants to be in New York, every actor wants to be in New York and every model. Every ballplayer, too. It's a special privilege."

Cross Country tussle  
This is the eighth time teams on the East Coast and West Coast have met in the World Series. It happened most recently in 1981 when the Yankees played the Los Angeles Dodgers.

(The Baltimore Sun)

### NOTEBOOK

Continued from Page 2

Before folding himself into the limousine, Mordochai offered a final thought, although it was unclear whether he was referring to the state of the negotiations or the media's near-futile attempt to cover the summit.

"Yihye b'seder," he said, with a smile. "It'll be OK."

Near futile? Make it desperate. Who saunters across the parking lot at the press center but Marwan Kanafani, spokesman for the Palestinian delegation.

Kanafani gets into the passenger seat of a black sedan. His window is open. Cameramen close in, filming Kanafani's every motion. Reporters seek a comment.

They have captured for history the Palestinian spokesman lighting a cigarette before the driver pulls away.

Once in the White House, always in the White House. That must explain the presence of Jay Foodlik in the press center. For two years, Foodlik served as the president's liaison to the American Jewish community.

Now a vice president at a Washington lobbying firm, the amiable Foodlik was brought back for the week to help out in the press operations, arranging logistics for the rare American briefings and shuttling journalists in and out of the even more rare photo opportunities at the negotiations.

The Middle East peace talks close a circle for Foodlik. He had no sooner joined the White House in 1994 than he was put in charge of assembling Arab- and Jewish-American delegations flying to the signing of the Arava peace treaty between Israel and Jordan.

Danna Harman adds:

When invitations were sent out, it was made very clear: spouses are not invited. But Netanyahu was having none of it. "I am the prime minister of Israel... and I will not accept pressure from anyone, not when it comes to the second redeployment, and not when it comes to my wife." And so it happened that Sara Netanyahu joined the generals, advisers, ministers and legal drafters en route to the US.

Then the Americans gently suggested that Sara spend the weekend in the capital, taking in the sights. They even managed to get tickets to the much-coveted Van Gogh exhibition as an added enticement. But Sara was having none of it. Her husband was off to Wye Plantation and so, clearly, was she.

Over the weekend, Sara's hairdresser was initially denied permission to enter the retreat's grounds, and was finally admitted only after high-level intervention.

seems that even if nothing is really concluded, a positive spin will be put on the summit.

The sides will make an announcement of principles agreed upon, or come out with statements of good will and confirm their intention to continue negotiating. The Americans don't want this, but they would rather have some face-saving, positive statement than have to decide what to do with a breakdown.

### ANALYSIS

Continued from Page 1

Israelis and Palestinians alike say they are pessimistic about the prospects and find it hard to believe that agreement on many of the outstanding issues can be reached at this point.

Some of the pessimism may be tactical, but the problem is real.

صدا س الامم







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Sampras  
keeps  
ahead

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## Sports Editors

Joe Hoffman &amp; Ori Lewis

Lazio  
crush  
Inter 5-3

ROME (Reuters) - Inter Milan crashed to one of their heaviest home defeats in Serie A with a 5-3 thrashing by championship rivals Lazio at the San Siro yesterday.

The visitors scored three times in a dramatic first-half which saw Dutchman Aron Winter cancel out Marcello Salas' second minute opener before Sergio Conceicao and Roberto Mancini put Lazio out of sight by half-time.

Argentine Diego Simeone further darkened Inter's night by getting a red card for stamping on Fernando Couto in the 45th minute before second-half goals from Conceicao and Pavel Nedved completed the humiliation.

Nicola Ventola grabbed two late consolation goals and Nedved was sent-off, but it was not enough to spare Inter from one of their worst setbacks at their home stadium since Venezia won 4-1 in Milan in 1942/43.

"It was our first test of the season. It could not have gone much worse," said Inter president Massimo Moratti.

The visitors' first win of the season brought full revenge for their 3-0 defeat to same side in last season's UEFA Cup final and leaves them fifth in the table on nine points.

## Yankees take Game 1 with seven-run 7th

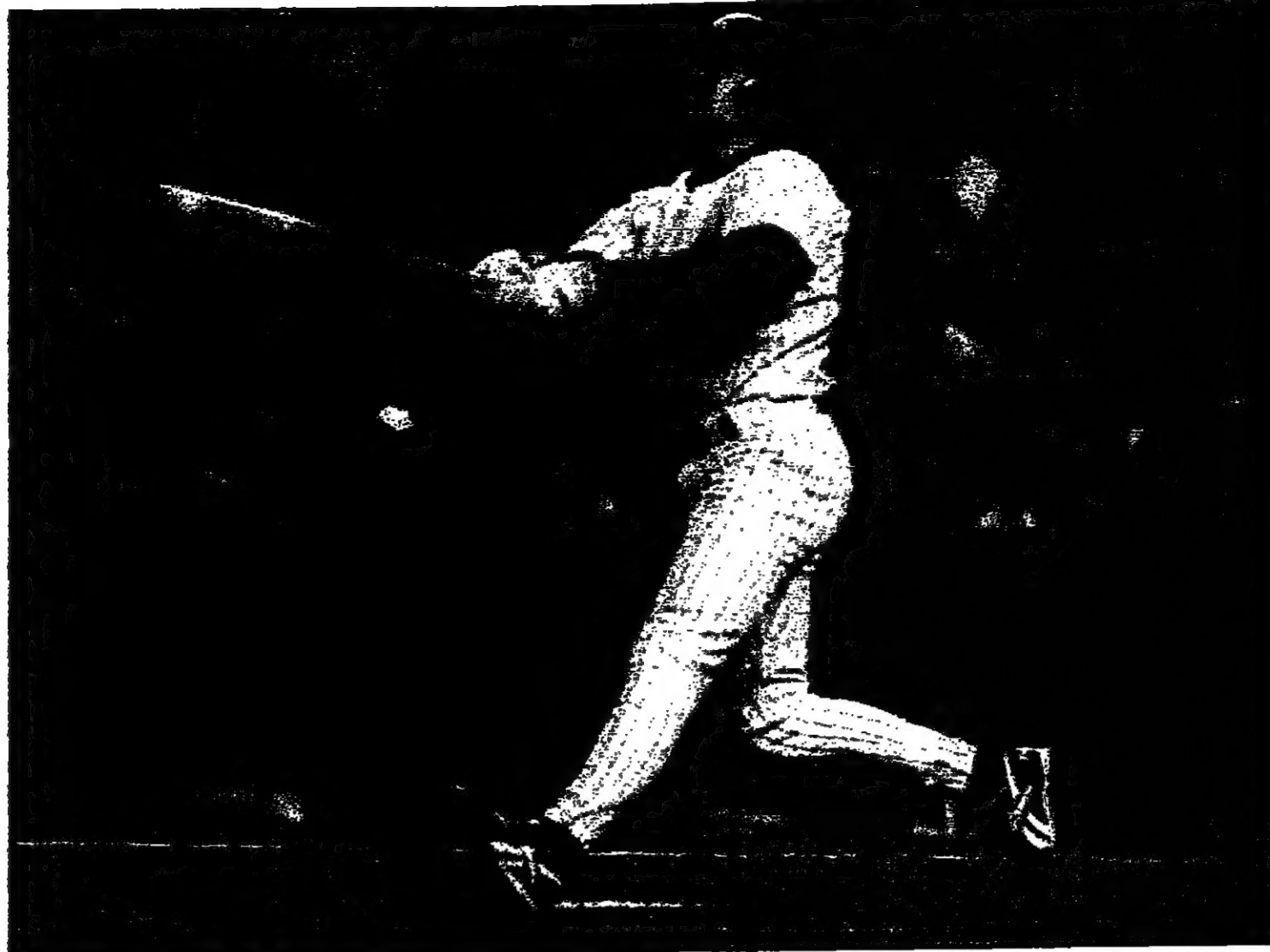
Martinez, Knoblauch atone for gaffes with home runs in 9-6 win; Wells gets victory

NEW YORK (AP) - Tino Martinez hit a grand slam and Chuck Knoblauch hit a three-run homer in a seven-run seventh Saturday night that rescued the New York Yankees, giving them a 9-6 victory over the San Diego Padres in Game 1 of the World Series.

Knoblauch and Martinez, infamous for the blown bunt that cost them Game 2 of the AL championship series against Cleveland, surely atoned for it this time.

"I don't know about demons or redemption, but it was definitely a fun night," Knoblauch said.

Two home runs by Greg Vaughn and a two-run shot by Tony Gwynn sent San Diego ahead 5-2. But with the underdog Padres heading toward a startling win



THAR SHE BLOWS - Yankees Chuck Knoblauch connects for a three-run HR in the seventh inning to tie the score at 5-5. (Reuters)

Slammin' Sammy tosses  
1st ball, Page 22

and the sellout crowd of 56,712 sitting quietly, the Yankees rallied. What was supposed to be a pitching duel between aces Kevin Brown and David Wells instead turned into a game of home-run derby. And it was Martinez and Knoblauch, both slumping below .200 in this postseason, who won it.

"I tried to tell myself take it day by day," Martinez said.

"I knew one day I'd eventually get a big hit to break out to help the team win." Game 2 was scheduled for last night, with Orlando "El Duque" Hernandez starting for the Yankees against Andy Ashby.

"I don't think it's a wasted opportunity. Sure, you hate to lose a 5-2 lead," Padres manager Bruce Bochy said. "But that's a good ballclub over there."

Brown took a three-run lead into the seventh and looked in control when he retired leadoff man Scott Brosius on an easy grounder.

Then the Yankees broke loose, as they did all season in setting an AL record with 114 wins. Jorge Posada singled and rookie Ricky Ledee, who hit a two-run double and a single in his first two at-bats, drew a walk.

Bochy decided Brown was done. A few batters later, the Padres were done, too.

Donne Wall relieved and Knoblauch lofted the third pitch high into the left-field stands for a home run that made it 5-1.

Derek Jeter followed with a single, and it was Mark Langston's turn to relieve.

But this was not the kind of outing Langston was hoping for in his first Series appearance in a 15-year career. After getting the second out, Langston threw a wild pitch and then intentionally walked Bernie Williams.

Chili Davis also walked to load the bases, and up stepped Martinez. An All-Star who has had a history of postseason failure, he made up for it in a big way.

Martinez took a close 2-2 pitch for a ball, then hit a grand into the upper deck in right. The fans who had blamed him and Knoblauch for the bone-headed play 10 days ago rewarded Martinez with a long, loud standing ovation that he acknowledged with a curtain call.

Martinez hit the 17th slam in Series history, and the first since Lonnie Smith did it for Atlanta in 1992. It was the Yankees' first Series slam since Joe Pepitone connected in 1964.

Down 9-5, the Padres tried to come back in the eighth. Gwynn led off with his third hit of the night and, with two outs, Knoblauch made an error on Wally Joyner's grounder to second and a run scored.

Steve Finley represented the potential tying run, but Mariano Rivera got him on an easy grounder to end the inning and the Padres' last chance.

Rivera finished up for a save and Wells wound up with the victory. The ALCS MVP improved to 4-0 in this postseason and 8-1 overall, winning despite a shaky outing.

Wall got the loss. Brown, who had an 0.38 ERA in three postseason starts this year, entered the game with a 12-3 career record against the Yankees, the best mark in history vs. New York by a pitcher with at least 10 wins.

Brown was hit in the left shin by Davis' ball in the second, yet stayed in the game.

"He took a good shot. He wouldn't say much about it, but it caught him pretty good," Bochy said.

said. The win was the 114th in Series history for the Yankees, trying to win their record 24th championship. San Diego's only previous Series appearance came in 1993 when it lost in five games to Detroit.

Vaughn, the 50-homer man who missed most of the NL championship series because of a strained left quadriceps, hit a two-run shot in the third inning that tied it at 2. It stayed that way until the Padres' three-run fifth.

Quilvio Veras singled with two outs and Gwynn followed with a first-pitch line drive that banged off the facade of the upper deck in right. The homer was a good sign for Gwynn - the eight-time NL batting champion had been hitting only .220 in this postseason.

Vaughn was next and the slugger, nearly traded to New York last year, sent Wells' pitch high and deep to left field for a 5-2 lead. It marked the 40th multi-homer game in Series history and the first since Atlanta's Andrew Jones did it in Game 1 at Yankee Stadium in 1996.

Gwynn and Vaughn connected for the 12th set of back-to-back homers in the Series, with Moises Alou and Charles Johnson doing it last year for Florida.

Ledee, not even on the Yankees' postseason roster when the AL playoffs began, hit a two-out, two-run double that landed on the right-field line in the second. Earlier in the inning, Davis singled off Brown's left shin.

Game 1: Yankees 9, Padres 6. Game 2: Yankees 5, Padres 4. Game 3: Yankees 4, Padres 3. Game 4: Yankees 3, Padres 2. Game 5: Yankees 2, Padres 1. Game 6: Yankees 1, Padres 0. Game 7: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 8: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 9: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 10: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 11: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 12: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 13: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 14: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 15: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 16: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 17: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 18: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 19: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 20: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 21: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 22: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 23: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 24: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 25: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 26: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 27: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 28: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 29: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 30: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 31: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 32: Yankees 0, Padres 0. Game 33: Yankees 0, Padres 0. 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